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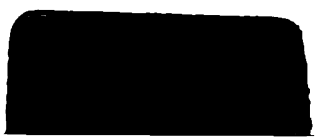

CK
Monitor

THE MONITOR: I

OR,

British FREEHOLDER.

FROM

AUGUST 9, 1755, to JULY 31, 1756,
both inclusive.

Pro REGE *et* GREGE.

LONDON:
Printed for J. SCOTT, at the *Black Swan* in
PATER-NOSTER-ROW.
MD.CC.LVI.

THE NEW YORK
PUBLIC LIBRARY
168032
ASTOR, LENOX AND
TILDEN FOUNDATIONS.
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THE

DEDICATION.

To the NINETY-FOUR Honourable and Worthy Members of the Houſe of Commons, who voted in the laſt Seſſions of Parliament *againſt addreſſing* his Majeſty to bring over the *Hanoverian* Forces into this Kingdom.

THE intention of the MONITOR, or BRITISH FREEHOLDER, as declared by that worthy Patriot *, who originally plann'd it, is to commend good men and good meaſures, and to cenſure bad ones, without reſpect of perſons; to awaken that ſpirit of LIBERTY and LOYALTY, for which the *Britiſh* nation was *anciently* diſtinguiſhed, but which was in a manner lulled aſleep

*RICHARD BECKFORD, Eſq; late Member for BRISTOL, and Alderman of the Ward of *Farringdon without*, in LONDON.

aſleep by that golden opiate, which weak and wicked Miniſters for many years, had too ſucceſsfully tendered to perſons of all ranks, as a *neceſſary* engine of government; though in truth nothing leſs than a *libel* upon their own meaſures, which could not be juſtified upon principles of wiſdom and integrity.

THE *death* of ſo publick-ſpirited a man, amidſt ſuch a ſtate of things, was a publick loſs; but this loſs was in ſome degree alleviated by his having animated many gentlemen of the *ſame* ſtation and principles with himſelf to concur in the *ſame* generous deſign, which he thought too important to be reſted upon the contingency of a ſingle life; and by *their* zeal and aſſiſtance, the infant plan was not abandoned, like a poor orphan, but decently nurſed and ſupported from time to time. By theſe means the film, ſpread over the eyes of the people, has been gradually removed, and the conduct of miniſters expoſed, ſo far as they purſued or connived at meaſures, injurious to the nation, diſhonourable to the crown; and which at the long run muſt terminate in the irretrievable ruin of both.

How expedient *ſuch a paper* was amidſt the rooted diſtemper of the times; how neceſſary to inſpire the people with right notions of their duty to their king and country; and how favourably the notions herein inculcated have been received, is evident from the *vaſt demand* for the *Monitor*, and the *neceſſity* we lie under of reprinting in a

volume

volume the collection of the *firſt year*, to ſatisfy the extraordinary calls of the publick.

In this paper, O gentle Reader! think not yourſelf diſappointed, if you meet with no ſarcaſtical reflections upon Majeſty; no ſeeds of diſaffection ſown; no imputations to perſons, without evident facts, or ſtrong probabilities to ſupport them; here are no attempts to weaken the hands of government; no wilful miſrepreſentations of men or meaſures, or the leaſt deſign to impoſe upon the underſtanding of the people. On the contrary, you will find a dutiful regard ſhewn to the Prince upon the throne, without fulſome and fooliſh flattery; a true zeal for a Proteſtant ſucceſſion, and for a religious obſervance of the Act of Settlement; a manly reprehenſion of miniſters, when they do amiſs; a modeſt panegyrick upon them, when they act wiſely; which proves, the controverſy is *not about men, but meaſures*, and that *party* was intirely out of the deſign. And as we are always ready to offer the proper incenſe of praiſe to able and honeſt men, who preſide at the head of affairs; ſo weak or wicked ones muſt not hope to eſcape our notice; for the MONITOR will not fail to give the people the alarm in time; that, if poſſible, they may prevent their fatal ruin.

Such have been; ſuch ſtill are the views of *this Paper*; and ſhould a *miniſterial critick*, buſily pick out a few exceptions to this general rule; the candid reader, we doubt not, will

place

place them to the ſcore of humanity, or the caſual over-ſhootings of an imagination, perhaps a little over-heated by the nobleſt of all paſſions, *a love of our country*.

To whom then could *theſe ſheets* be ſo properly addreſſed, as to thoſe WORTHIES, who by their encouragement have favoured, and by their examples illuſtrated thoſe principles of LIBERTY and LOYALTY, which they inculcate?

To you, therefore, GENTLEMEN! the MONITOR flies for patronage and protection; to YOU who have a perfect knowledge of the *Britiſh conſtitution*; and whoſe hearts have hitherto preſerved themſelves; unawed by the frowns, untainted by the temptations, and undeceived by the ſophiſtries of miniſterial men: To YOU, who will be delivered down to poſterity, as patrons of that old-faſhioned principle; that *flattery ought not to uſurp the place of duty*; that it is the buſineſs of parliament, to adviſe the King in all things, reſpecting the dignity and ſecurity of the crown; the good and glory of the nation; and that to *addreſs* him to import a *foreign army* into this kingdom, under colour of defending it, is a dangerous, expenſive, and unconſtitutional fetch of policy, and may in future times, under a leſs worthy prince, and leſs upright miniſtry, become a precedent, that may prove fatal to the LIBERTY of BRITONS.

To you then, GENTLEMEN, the *following Papers* are with all gratitude DEDICATED,

by your moſt obedient Servants,

The EDITORS.

THE

MONITOR,

OR THE

Britiſh Freeholder.

N°. 1. SATURDAY, *Auguſt* 9th, 1755.

Poſtquam illos videt queri de avaritia magiſtratuum, accuſare ſenatum, quod in eo auxilii nihil eſſet, miſeriis ſuis remedium mortem expectare, at ego, *inquit*, vobis ſi modi viri eſſe vultis, rationem oſtendam qua tanta mala iſta effugiatis.

SALLUST.

THE Liberty, which every Briton has of delivering his ſentiments freely on public meaſures, is eſſential to the nature of our government; and our hiſtory abounds with inſtances, where the exertion of this right in the collective body has produced great and noble effects. How often has the voice

of the people without, moderated and reſtrained theopinion within doors, and prevented dangerous ſchemes of power?

THE ſubjects of an arbitrary prince can have no right to diſcuſs queſtions relating to government: their obedience is unconditional and illimited; and they have no liberty, but what they occaſionally enjoy by the accident of having a mild and benevolent prince. But the conſtitution of Britain is the concern of every man therein. For, our liberties and privileges were not the gift of our princes; but are original rights, and as much a part of the conſtitution, as the prerogative, and powers of the crown: And when I conſider the ſhare, and the intereſt, which I have in the government, by being a freeholder, I look upon myſelf, as a perſon of more real conſequence, than a *premier preſident* of the parliament of Paris; and eſteem it my duty as well as my intereſt, to guard and defend this temple of liberty, religiouſly to keep up its ſacred fire, and to prevent its being extinguiſhed by daring and ſacrilegious hands.

ALL governments have within themſelves the ſeeds of their own diſſolution; and the wiſeſt inſtitutions will not ſtand before the ſtroke of time, unleſs defended by a ſpirit of liberty and watchfulneſs. They require frequent reviſions, and muſt often be brought back to their firſt principles. The ambition and luſt of power in rulers will obtrude many and dangerous innovations; which, if not checked in time, muſt be

inſenſibly woven into the original ſyſtem, and in the end prove fatal to, and deſtroy liberty.

How much more then ought we to be alarmed, if a general tameneſs and a ſupine indifference to the public good prevail, at a time, when the keeneſt efforts ought to be employed to aſſert and vindicate the rights of our country?

THE freeholder will endeavour to rouſe the ſleeping lion from his couch of eaſe, ſtimulate his lethargick countrymen, and bring them back again from ſubjects of vain curioſity, or trifling amuſements, to the more important concerns of their country. This nation has been too long under the direction of ſtate empiricks, whoſe only merit has been to ſkin our wounds, and palliate our diſtemper. It is now time to ſearch the wound to the bottom, and to apply wholſome and regular medicaments to the almoſt corrupted body. The cure may be painful; but it muſt be ſpeedily undergone: for a delay will certainly bring on more dreadful ſymptoms, and infallibly end in political death. We have been too long deluded by the magic ſound of words, and ſome of the principal men in our country have been drove from the throne by odious diſtinctions, and falſe imputations; whereby the rancour, and animoſity of parties has been kept up, and our ſovereign has been deprived of the aſſiſtance of ſome of the ableſt of his ſubjects, moſt firmly attached to his perſon and family.

A prince, poſſeſſed of the affections of his people, cannot want the ſupport of a party.

Miniſters may, and often have employed it to the moſt factious purpoſes; to the enervating of the conſtitution, in order to ſtrengthen their own power, and to the empoveriſhing of the people, in order to engroſs to themſelves the riches of the nation.

THERE never was a criſis, that called more loudly for the aid of every Briton, than the preſent. We are on the brink of two precipices; alarmed by a moſt heavy debt and other great and imminent dangers from within; and juſt on the point of a war with a great and powerful enemy, the event of which may determine our being, as a free and independent nation. Nothing leſs than a vigorous exertion of our natural rights, and unanimous concurrence with the divine aſſiſtance, in the defence of our liberties, king, and country, can prevent us from ſinking under the weight of ſuch multiplied and growing evils. Let us then by our firmneſs, conſtancy, and public virtue deſerve the favour of providence. Let us, with an honeſt and diſintereſted zeal, labour to unite our divided and miſled countrymen, by firſt repairing the breaches within our walls. Let us endeavour to reſtore the integrity of government, and root up corruption, the principal ſource from whence all our domeſtick evils have ſprung. Let us expoſe the folly and turpitude of thoſe, who have avowed it as a neceſſary expedient of government, and have with ſo much care and indulgence nurtured and ſupported this miniſterial ſyſtem. They, who have taſted of its baneful fruit,

fruit, will be unwilling to loſe the delicious morſel. But a king, who has no deſign of uſurping upon the rights of his people, will find the weight of his ſceptre ſufficient for all the purpoſes of government, and will poſſeſs a more real and abſolute power, by gaining the eſteem, confidence, and affection of his people; than thoſe princes, who have leaned on the precarious ſupport of dividing and corrupting their people, and whoſe government has been carried on by ſuch unconſtitutional expedients.

SUCH a king, as well as his ſubjects would feel the effects of ſo iniquitous a conduct, and ſoon ſmart under the rod of party. He would be beſieged in his palace by his ungrateful and profligate ſervants, become the ſlave of thoſe he employs, and would ſuffer equally, if not more, than the reſt of his people.

MEN, who are capable of employing, and avowing ſuch wicked arts, muſt be loſt to all ſenſe of virtue and public good, and would act againſt their king, their country, or their God, to gratify their ambition or ſatiate their avarice.

IF we ſhould ever be ſo unhappy as to have a houſe of commons, conſtituted chiefly of a ſet of profligate and unprincipled individuals, choſen by a miniſterial mandate, the offspring of corruption; ſuch an aſſembly will be the repreſentative of the miniſter, not of the people; and inſtead of being the guardian, and the aſſertor of the people's rights, and the palladium of liberty, it will be an inſtrument, in the hands of power,

of introducing and perpetuating ſlavery and deſpotiſm.

THE power and prerogative of the crown, originally deſigned to ſupport and preſerve the equilibrium of our excellent government, will be ſoon diverted from their channel, and proſtituted to ſerve the low deſigns of party, and to ſet up, and maintain a power inconſiſtent with the conſtitution. We have had inſtances of this kind of a very alarming nature; and I believe every diſpaſſionate man, unheated in the conteſt, concerning a late county-election, muſt think that the freedom and privileges of elections were attacked, in a manner not to be reconciled to the principles of our conſtitution, however they may be to the delicacies of *Whiggiſm*. The friends of liberty took the alarm, and as the rights of all the freeholders of this kingdom are ſo eſſentially concerned, I hope they will ſpeedily, and as becomes Britiſh freeholders, exert themſelves in the defence of their natural, legal, and excluſive right to chuſe their own repreſentatives in parliament, and endeavour to reſtore this part of the conſtitution. For, I will venture to pronounce, if bribery be not ſoon put a ſtop to, if the laws for puniſhing the abandoned knavery and partiality of returning officers be not executed with more rigor, and the abuſes in elections ſoon redreſſed by the wiſdom of a ſober houſe of commons, a free parliament will be little elſe than ſound, and articulated air.

By abuſing the power and prerogative of the crown, and by creating a private and corrupt dependance upon miniſters, by bribery, and other undue influences, the balance of power between the king and ſubject may ſoon be deſtroyed; and this ſecret and undermining method will be more likely to introduce ſlavery, and to rivet its chains upon us, than the bold uſurpations of former times, by an open and bare-faced extenſion of the prerogative. The crown is already poſſeſſed of powers unknown to our former kings, and nothing, at this hour, ſecures us from being ſlaves, but the moderation and goodneſs of the prince upon the throne. But ſhall the liberties of Britain depend upon the temper and inclinations of it's kings? God forbid! The condition of a ſlave is not defined by the ſtripes he receives, but by the power of inflicting them, at the will and pleaſure of a tyrant, without any other meaſure than his unruly luſt.

But let us not deſpair of our country; a few active, diſintereſted patriots may, by their zeal and temper, ſoon alter the face of affairs; and inſtead of corruption, profuſion of public money, and a total diſregard of all private and public morality: virtue, œconomy, and the love of our country, will, under ſuch examples, take place, by which alone we can hope to recover, and ſecure our happineſs at home, or carry terror to our enemies abroad.

I hope the freedom which may be taken in the courſe of theſe papers will not give offence to any

well-meaning man. They are deſigned to emancipate the king from the ſhackles of an arbitrary adminiſtration, to expoſe to his, and the public view the arts by which his miniſters have abuſed and oppreſſed his people, to open thoſe paths that lead to true glory, by eſtabliſhing a mutual confidence between the king and his people. They are deſigned to guard my fellow citizens againſt the incroachments of power, which are advancing with ſuch large, but ſilent ſtrides; and to diſſect the views of thoſe zealots of party, who impudently call themſelves the friends of the government, whilſt they act in oppoſition to the principles of it, as well as of thoſe pſeudo-patriots, who under the maſk of liberty and public virtue, concealed their ſelf-intereſted and ambitious deſigns.

OUGHT any Briton to be aſhamed, or afraid to avow ſuch ſentiments? I think not: and therefore, I will hope, however unequal I may be to the office of a *Monitor*, that my labours will be favourably received by every man, who wiſhes well to the honour and proſperity of Britain.

No. 2. SATURDAY, *Auguſt* the 16th, 1755.

———*Vir bonus eſt quis?*
Qui conſulta patrum, qui leges, juraque ſervat.
HOR. Lib. I. Epiſt. 16.

Mr. FREEHOLDER!

EVERY man who preſumes to take a part in public affairs, ought to be well acquainted with the ſtate of parties, with the characters and private views of every perſon that either ſupports or oppoſes the adminiſtration. Without this knowledge, nay, without the moſt accurate attention to it, he may become the dupe of both; and inſtead of promoting the public welfare (which alone ought to be the object of every good citizen) will be an inſtrument of haſtening the ruin of his country.

OUR unhappy diviſions are never enough to be lamented: a wiſe and good prince will endeavour to heal them, and to unite the heads and hearts of his ſubjects. His eaſe and ſecurity at home, his weight and influence abroad depend upon it. But alas! how often have crafty miniſters prevented ſuch a natural union, and by inflaming the rancour and animoſity of parties, in order to magnify their own conſequence with their ſovereign, thrown the prince on a party, and taught him to believe, that they, who oppoſe

poſe the meaſures of his miniſters, are enemies to his perſon, family, and government? By theſe wicked means the diviſion of parties continue, and the oppoſition given to the meaſures of the miniſtry, from time to time, inſtead of reforming the abuſes of government, has too often furniſhed pretences for extending the powers of the crown, and for expoſing the liberties of the people to much real danger. And I may venture to ſay, that nothing has contributed ſo much to ſtrengthen this faction, as the conduct of ſome late patriots, who declaimed themſelves into power, betrayed the confidence of the people, and joined the oppreſſors of their country.

By ſuch a behaviour the cauſe of liberty has been betrayed: And no wonder that many well-meaning perſons have been induced almoſt to deſpair of their country; and to think, that every oppoſition to the meaſures of a court, has been merely a contention for power, and proſecuted from private intereſt, and not from a principle of true patriotiſm. And when we reflect how often the confidence of the people has been abuſed, ſince the fall of a certain miniſter; who can blame them for their coldneſs and indifference to all matters relating to government? However, Mr. Freeholder! when I conſider you are writing to animate Britons, who never gave up their freedom tamely nor perfidiouſly, there is no doubt but that a method may be found out of infuſing a ſpirit of liberty into the boſoms of the people, and regaining their confidence. The attempt

attempt may be difficult, but, I truſt, we are not ſo far ſunk in ſloth, or ſo borne down by the torrent of corruption, as to exclude all hopes of political redemption. Shall we, who have been bred in the boſom of liberty; ſhall we, intoxicated with the enjoyment of it, ſtretch out our necks to the collar; and, loaded with the fetters of ſlavery, ſurrender this troubleſome and intolerable birth-right, like vile Cappadocians, who, as hiſtory informs us, refuſed liberty when it was offered?

If a few active and determined men would unite upon the ſolid principle of public good, unmixed with any private or ſelfiſh conſiderations; how eaſily might they with moderate talents, lay a foundation for regaining the confidence of the people, and reforming the errors and abuſes, which may have crept into government? I hope ſuch will be found: but they muſt expect that power will ſoon erect her creſt, and all the dirty tools of ſuch an adminiſtration will immediately take fire, all the engines of malice will be ſet to work to defeat their meaſures, to ridicule and expoſe their perſons; and nothing will be left untried to hinder and fruſtrate the work of reformation. And if it ever ſhould be adopted for ſound doctrine in the law, that it is libellous, and a licentious uſe of the liberty of the preſs, to oppoſe the mal-practices of bad men in power; there will be an end of that right, which every Briton claims under the royal protection, to oppoſe ſlavery in what dreſs ſoever it advanceth; and

and to maintain that liberty, to which he is intitled by the laws of the land. But inſtead of being diſcouraged by theſe wicked arts, they ought to animate and inflame the zeal of men, acting in ſo honeſt a cauſe. Steadineſs, conſtancy, and perſeverance will have their effect, and truth and virtue muſt at laſt become triumphant.

But as zeal, without knowledge, temper, and addreſs, will do little towards ſuch reformation, it will be requiſite, in order to act conſiſtently, and to be prepared, in caſe any favourable event ſhould happen, for the executing a reaſonable and practicable ſcheme, to inform your readers upon what plan you propoſe to raiſe ſuch a laudable ſuperſtructure, and to invite thoſe to act upon, who ſhall be willing to co-operate in ſo glorious a cauſe. You know the grand deluſion, in regard to the king and people, has been to ſtigmatize all patriots with the odious name of Jacobites, or enemies to the preſent eſtabliſhment, and family on the throne; and every oppoſition or cenſure of the miniſtry, with the obſolete name of Jacobitiſm. By this prejudice the diſſenters, and many other well-meaning whigs, from a juſt hatred to a popiſh pretender, and from a dread of relapſing into the miſeries of deſpotic government, have fallen into another extreme; and by blindly ſupporting the adminiſtration, and throwing all their weight into that ſcale, theſe lovers of liberty have nurtured ſuch a power for every

future miniſtry, as may ſooner or later ſwallow up the liberties of the kingdom.

The blaſphemous notion of divine, indefeaſible right, and other prejudices, in favour of the Stuart family, are abſolutely worn out of the minds of men: and no man believes (for all that ſay it, do not believe it) that any of thoſe, who at preſent act in oppoſition to the court, are Jacobites. This, however falſe in fact, has not only perſuaded majeſty itſelf to ſuſpect, and even to reject the council of his beſt ſubjects, whether conſidered for their wiſdom or loyalty; but created and fomented a ſtrong jealouſy among the ſubjects themſelves; inſomuch as frequently to prevent a confidence amongſt the lovers of their king and country, when the abuſe of power and unconſtitutional meaſures have required their mutual aſſiſtance in the cauſe of liberty. Therefore, Mr. Freeholder! to obviate any ſuch miniſterial ſcandal, and to give both the ſovereign and the ſubject all the aſſurance that the nature of the thing requires, that neither you nor your correſpondents can be in any-wiſe ſuſpected of Jacobitiſm, publiſh the following maxims; and while you keep cloſe to thoſe principles, it will not be in the power either of miſrepreſentations, corruption, or force, to injure you in the minds of the people, or the affections of the king. For, it will tend more effectually to eſtabliſh the preſent family upon the throne, than that corrupt, that deteſtable ſyſtem of power, which of late years prevailed in oppoſition to thoſe rights vindicated

dicated at the revolution; and which ſyſtem of power, if continued, muſt infallibly keep up a pernicious jealouſy between the king and his people.

THE maxims I propoſe, and which I recommend to be avowed and maintained by all good patriots, are contained in the following propoſitions; as,

I. A determination to ſupport his preſent majeſty and his family, againſt the pretender and all his adherents; and in one body to give any publick and ſolemn teſt of their attachment to his perſon and government.

II. To ſupport good, as well as to oppoſe, bad government; and to make the ſpirit and end of the revolution, the only meaſures of their conduct, either in ſupporting or oppoſing the adminiſtration.

III. To correct with temper the frauds and abuſes in the revenue; and narrowly to look into the ſtate of all the publick offices, the accompts of all contractors, and clerks, in the ſeveral departments, particularly thoſe of the treaſury, army, and navy.

IV. To diſcourage thoſe harpies, called money-jobbers, who, under the pretence of aſſiſting government, become the plunderers of it.

V. To

V. To eſtabliſh a ſyſtem of œconomy in all matters relating to the financial part of the government.

VI. To ſupport the eſtabliſhed religion; to encourage the preſent temper and moderation of the church; and to oppoſe any ſpirit of intolerance or perſecution.

VII. To avoid all peeviſh oppoſitions to the meaſures of an adminiſtration, eſpecially where they are indifferent, or not abſolutely eſſential to the public welfare: but

VIII. To conform, as much as poſſible, to the temper of the times, and to diſtinguiſh the practicable from the impracticable; and not to preſs any meaſure ſo far, as to diſturb the harmony of government, or to give any advantage to the enemies of his majeſties family by raiſing and fomenting a faction.

IX. To endeavour by a more effectual law, than is now in force, to diſcountenance and puniſh in the ſevereſt manner, as well thoſe, who directly, or indirectly offer, or give a bribe to be choſen; as thoſe, who receive one: and to oblige all perſons returned members of parliament to take an oath at the table, that they have not offered, or given a bribe, or made uſe of any undue influence, *&c. &c. &c.* in order to be elected; before ſuch perſon ſhall be permitted to take his ſeat, and vote in parliament.

X. To

X. To engage in no foreign alliances, where the intereſt of Britain is not immediately and eſſentially concerned: and, when alliances may be judged neceſſary, and any foreign ſubſidies are to be granted; to prefer alliances with Ruſſia, the Empreſs Queen, the King of Pruſſia, the King of Sardinia, and other great powers, to thoſe with petty German princes, who have always failed us; and to proportion the ſubſidies to the abilities of our own nation, and not to the wants of thoſe, who apply for them.

XI. To aſſert the dominion of the ſea by a large and well ordered navy; to place our chief dependance in ſuch a navy; to keep in conſtant pay, in time of peace, as well as war, a powerful body of ſeamen; and for their encouragement, and to avoid, as far as 'tis poſſible, the odious, as well as unconſtitutional method of preſſing; to invite them into the publick ſervice by bounties, and to pay them with the ſame punctuality and regularity, which is obſerved in the payment of the land forces.

XII. To cheriſh and ſupport our colonies; thoſe ſinews of our naval ſtrength, on which avowedly the very being of this kingdom depends; to define and ſettle the rights and privileges of the ſubjects, reſiding in thoſe colonies; to model them more agreeable to the ſyſtem of liberty, main-

maintained in their mother country; and to contrive a better and more effectual method, than the preſent, of curbing and puniſhing licentious, arbitrary, and tyrannical governors.

XIII. To promote a fœderal union amongſt the Northern Colonies in America; and to govern them in ſo gentle a manner, as not to provoke them to caſt off their allegiance.

XIV. To arm the people by a temperate and practicable militia-law, and in the mean time to allow the preſent number of ſtanding forces, by a law made from year to year; in hopes, that when his majeſty or his ſucceſſors ſee themſelves abſolutely eſtabliſhed in the univerſal affection of their ſubjects, he or they may be graciouſly induced not to aſk them in time of peace; as they always foſter up a jealouſy in the minds of the people, by their danger to liberty: and more eſpecially, as the number of ſtanding forces, now in pay, are not ſufficient for our defence againſt a foreign enemy; and yet would be too formidable a body under the direction of a violent and tyrannical king: beſides, the reduction of our expences, by ſuch a meaſure, would greatly increaſe the national ſtock.

XV. To give every poſſible encouragement to the trade of this kingdom, and for that

purpoſe to diſcountenance all kind of monopolies, and to encourage our manufacturies, both at home, and in our colonies. B.

No. 3. SATURDAY, *Auguſt* 23, 1755.

When either the electors, or ways of election are altered, without the conſent, and contrary to the common intereſt of the people, there alſo the legiſlative is altered. For, if others, *than thoſe, whom the ſociety hath authorized thereunto, do chuſe, or* in another way *than what the ſociety hath preſcribed, thoſe choſen* are not *the legiſlative appointed by the people.*

LOCKE on Civil Government.

THE preſervation of property being the chief end of men's uniting themſelves into commonwealths, and putting themſelves under ſome particular government, it became neceſſary to the enjoyment of that property in peace and ſafety, to eſtabliſh a legiſlative power; and to eſtabliſh it upon ſo certain and firm a foundation, that whilſt the conſtitution or form of government continued the ſame, the legiſlative ſhould continue unaltered. For whether men by their original compact, or at their firſt formation into a regular ſociety for their mutual and common benefit, place that legiſlative power

power in the hands of one only; or in the hands of ten, thirty, five hundred, or five thouſand, it makes no difference. A conſtitution of ſome ſort or other will be formed; a legiſlative power will be eſtabliſhed; they will go hand in hand, ſtand or fall together; and an alteration in the one will be attended with the ſure and infallible deſtruction of the other.

THE frame of our government is made up of the king, lords, and commons, which put together make but one entire government; though with reſpect to each other, they are ſeparate parts of the conſtitution. And the preſervation of this form of government in England, when the liberties of our neighbours have been long ſwallowed up by arbitrary power, is owing to the care of our predeceſſors, who kept theſe three conſtituent parts of the political body cloſe to the rules of their original inſtitution, by reſtraining each to its proper bounds. However theſe three parts may in other reſpects be conſidered, yet in regard to the legiſlative, they muſt act in conjunction. The aſſent of each to the making of laws is eſſentially neceſſary; but the manner of giving this aſſent is different in the people, from what it is in the king and in the lords. The people, by reaſon of their number cannot be perſonally preſent at the making of laws; their aſſent can no otherwiſe be ſignified than by their repreſentatives. The diſadvantage the commons are under, in this reſpect, is in ſome ſort made up to them by the

care taken in forming our government; *that they ſhould be truly and fairly repreſented.*

But can it be ſaid, that the people are *truly* and *fairly* repreſented, ſo long as that rotten part of our conſtitution, the ſmall boroughs, expoſe their voices to ſale; ſo long as a few drunken alehouſe-keepers, nay, a ſingle farm ſhall be enabled to ſend as many repreſentatives to the great aſſembly of the nation convened in parliament, as the moſt opulent and extenſive county in the kingdom? Is this the original intention of a houſe of commons? which was at the beginning, and ſtill ought to be the repreſentative of the whole people; and in a proportion as equal as poſſible. But ſince that pernicious ſcheme adopted by late miniſters, of placing the ſucceſs of their adminiſtration, and ſecurity of their perſons, not in promoting the public welfare, but in ſecuring a majority in the houſe of commons to approve their meaſures, to ſupply them with public money, and to ſcreen them from national reſentment, is continued; where ſhall we hope to find a remedy for this evil? theſe boroughs, in the power of a miniſter of ſtate, have ſo often protected and authorized the moſt ruinous acts, that there is great reaſon to fear the fatal conſequence of their continuance: nor do I foreſee leſs danger from that modern doctrine in politicks, eſtabliſhed by the managers, and by thoſe, who ſupported the iniquitous ſuppoſition of a right in copyholders to vote for members of

parliament in the laſt Oxfordſhire election; for by this means the electors are altered, without the conſent, and contrary to the common intereſt of the people: and conſequently, if this takes place, the legiſlative will be altered alſo. Is there any one that wants to be told, when the conſtitution is altered, that the diſſolution of it is near? nay, that the diſſolution of it is come? that it is finiſhed? What is this alteration, but cutting up government by the roots, and poiſoning the very foundation of public ſecurity?

I am a Freeholder of this kingdom; by the laws in being no-body has a right to vote for repreſentatives in parliament for this county, in which I live, but a Freeholder: thoſe repreſentatives are ſworn to be obedient to the laws in being; and their buſineſs is to alter old laws, or frame new ones, for the preſervation of my property, and for the defence of the kingdom.

If any other perſon, by any other tenure, than that of a freehold, is to vote in the election of county members, let there be produced an old law for it, or let a new one be enacted; or the repreſentative who admits and ſupports ſuch an innovation in the conſtitution, betrays the truſt repoſed in him, and depreciates the value of my right; though bound by the moſt ſacred oaths to preſerve it; by allowing the ſame right to another, to whom the conſtitution has never given it. My life and my eſtate are both dear to me, but my liberty is dearer:

with the two firſt I am ready when called upon to defend my king and country; and as I think myſelf neither born nor fitted for ſlavery, I am determined to preſerve the laſt. Let me ſuppoſe I am writing to one who has ſcreened a baſe returning officer, and voted in favour of copyhold electors. Who can give authority to violate the laws and conſtitution of the government? who can give authority to change the legiſlative power, and thereby diſſolve the conſtitution? who can give authority to make new legiſlators? who can give the repreſentatives the authority to trample upon my liberty, and to make an acknowledged vaſſal my equal? Does the power put into their hands by the people, juſtify their turning the dagger into the bowels of the conſtitution? who is the rebel then? who lifts up his hand againſt authority? who violates the laws of his country? and who is the friend of the conſtitution, You or I? ſoften me down then, palliate the wound, ſooth me, comfort me, tell me, that I am too warm, that ſuch a trifle is not worth my notice; that tho' you did act a little againſt the conſtitution, yet your main deſign was the public good; and that you could not have ſupported your rank in the adminiſtration without acting as you did; and conſequently not have been ſo ſerviceable to your friends. Repreſent to me at the ſame time, the immenſe authority of that houſe, which is the repreſentative of the whole kingdom; that as individuals, indeed, you are of

no

no great conſequence; but connected together, like the bundle of ſticks in the fable, your ſtrength is ſuch that it would be the higheſt folly to reſiſt it. I anſwer then, Doſt thou call it a trifle, to ſap the very foundation of the conſtitution? are you to chuſe the repreſentatives of the people; or I, and my brethren the freeholders? Is thy rank in the adminiſtration, thy capacity of ſerving thy ſordid tools, thy profligate minions, to be ſet in competition with the public welfare? Am I then, that fear not one, to be intimidated with a neſt of bivering tyrants? No, I will guard my brood from hawks and buzzards, which I ſee hovering over me: if I am to be deſtroyed, let me be pounced by the talons of an eagle, not peck'd to death by ſparrow-hawks and cuckows.

I doubt not but that by this time I am ſtigmatized with ſome odious name, and repreſented by the miniſterial faction to be a diſaffected perſon, and ready to join with the enemies of my country. This is always their laſt reſort, when palliatives can no longer cover their attempts upon our liberties. But call me Jacobite, and I will deſpiſe thee: call me rebel, and I will anſwer thee. Remember! rebellion is an oppoſition, not to perſons, but, to the authority in being. And let me add, that the only way to deſtroy diſaffection and to prevent rebellions and revolutions, the woeful effects of evil councils and mal-practices on the public, is, by a juſt and wiſe adminiſtration, to convince

the ſubjects, that they ſhall find their account in obeying and maintaining the preſent eſtabliſhment; for, without regard to any party or family, it may be experimentally aſſerted, that a people harraſſed by the inſtruments of tyranny, always ſuſpect them; will be deſirous to get clear of them, that obſtruct their eaſe and content; and, as it was in King James the IId's days, they in like circumſtances will be ready to make an intereſt with a new government, by betraying the old: and yet ſhall no more deſerve to be branded with the name of diſaffected, than they who fought for the liberties of England in 1641, or placed King William on the throne in 1688.

Let us then join heartily in preſerving our conſtitution in church and ſtate, upon its true and ſolid baſis. Let us unite in the ſupport of the juſt rights of the crown, and at the ſame time defend the liberties of the people; oppoſe all uſurpations, and endeavour in the moſt legal manner, to detect and puniſh all, who dare interpoſe between the king and the ſubject, ſo as to interrupt the harmony, on which alone the happineſs of both depend. And let this be done while there is wealth and power in being; while our country abounds with men of courage and underſtanding, and that want neither integrity nor public ſpirit: while there is an ardent deſire and diffuſive love of liberty among the people; and at a juncture, when they, who have heretofore been artfully managed to yield unto,

unto, ſcreen, and promote deſtructive meaſures, are tired and aſhamed of party animoſities, and of quarrelling with their friends to gratify the pride and rapine of thoſe, who ignorantly or wickedly would betray and ſell their liberties. I am of opinion, that now is the time when all diſtinctions about government are expired. But ſhould there ſtill exiſt a remnant of whig and tory; they are ſo greatly altered in their principles, that it will be found, our modern whigs are fallen into the old arbitrary principles, of which the tories are now really aſhamed. Who were they in the late Queen's time that were ſo warm and zealous againſt oppreſſions and miſcarriages; againſt exorbitant penſions, outrageous taxes, wild and expenſive expeditions; againſt increaſing the public debt; againſt a ſtanding army; againſt monopolizing oppreſſive companies; againſt private mens raiſing immenſe eſtates out of the public money; and againſt bribery and corrupting the repreſentatives of the nation? Did not the whigs value themſelves for their ſteadineſs and zeal againſt thoſe meaſures? and can a whig ever renounce that liberty, or ſtand dumb, much leſs abet the contrary principles, when the tory riſes up to defend our king and country, againſt men, whoſe hands are dipped in the public ſpoils, and whoſe hearts would triumph in the ruin of our liberties.

THUS I would remind the whigs of their old principles, and call them to an account for tempo-

temporizing with the ſappers of government; invite them to join in the grand cauſe of liberty, and explain to them the maxims of the modern tory, grounded on that ſyſtem of politicks, which is to guard the throne from a corrupt miniſtry, and to maintain the rights of the people againſt every ſyſtem of power, which has, or may oppoſe them. F. Q.

No. 4. SATURDAY, *Auguſt* 30th, 1755.

Having gained the power they became ſuch tyrants, that the reign of former oppreſſors ſeemed a golden age, when compared with the arbitrarineſs and exaction of theſe pretended deliverers; which made the Sicilians think them much more happy, who expired in ſlavery, than thoſe, who lived to ſee ſuch a diſmal freedom.

PLUT. Life of *Timoleon.*

BRITONS, no leſs than the Sicilians, have frequently been reduced to bemoan the approaches of arbitrary power, and to complain of a uſurpation upon their rights and privileges by corrupt miniſters. Can any people remain ſilent when their repreſentatives proſtitute the power, committed to them by their conſtituents, for the public ſafety, to the baſe purpoſes of enriching themſelves, by ſacrificing their truſt to

the will of a weak or wicked ſtateſman? ſuch an unnatural traffic with their liberties, leaves only the name of freedom; while, by ſlow degrees, it brings on a laſting ſlavery. Or can a free conſtitution be out of danger, where one part of it lays wait to deſtroy the energy of another? or where the legiſlative power is, or may be corrupted by the executive? A free people may, for a while, be reduced to a neceſſity of ſubmitting to the hard circumſtances of the Sicilians, when their freedom has been ſo artfully invaded, as not to be prevented; or ſo forcibly, as not to be immediately reſiſted: But hiſtory will inform us, that ſuch invaſions ſeldom go unrevenged. There is no people that ever bound themſelves over to the power of another, without reſerving a natural right to reſiſt violent aggreſſors; and to uſe every legal method to maintain and recover their liberty, and to puniſh thoſe, that would oppreſs them, according to the nature of their offence. Nor am I obliged to foreign writers; our own nation will furniſh too many examples, in which there have been miniſters of ſtate, who, without any regard to the true intereſt of the king and ſubject, and the honour of the nation abroad; and, indeed, without conſulting the fatal conſequences thereof, have ventured to try the dangerous experiment: dangerous to themſelves; fatal to the throne, when a majority could not be ſecured; and always ruinous to their country: the reigns of Charles I. and James II. will afford ſufficient proof.

BUT if the miniſtry of thoſe unfortunate kings had been expert in the practice of ſplitting and multiplying employments, and inſtead of one lord treaſurer had found out the neceſſity of having five or ſix lords of the treaſury; and ſeven lords of the admiralty inſtead of one lord high admiral, obſequious to the mandates of the court; we might never have heard of a miniſter, who loſt his head for attempting to eſtabliſh arbitrary power; nor of a king brought to the block; or obliged to abdicate three crowns, for uſurping a prerogative, to which they were not intitled by the laws of the realm. It was not the ſword, but the conqueror's engagement to govern the people of England according to their ancient laws, which confirmed him upon the throne. Alfred the founder of the monarchy had declared, that the Engliſh nation was as free as the thoughts of man: and ſhall it be recorded of this enlightened age, that there has been a time when Britons were ſo degenerate and regardleſs of their freedom, as to ſell it for a price? or to prefer retirement and eaſe to a vigorous defence of their liberty and property? Who can, without indignation, relate the original attempt of the miniſtry under James I. to pack a parliament, as the moſt infallible method to deprive the people of their liberties, and to eſtabliſh arbitrary power in the prince? could they have gained a majority of place-men or penſioners to the crown, their ſcheme might have been very eaſily carried into execution. For, what could prevent a wicked miniſter,

miniſter, guarded with plenipo's, conſuls, agents, admirals, generals, commiſſioners, directors, captains; and even ſo low as, with clerks in ſome public offices, to invade the liberties, and to drain the property of the ſubject, under the political cant of ſerving the king? by this means the executive would uſurp the legiſlative power, contrary to the great charter of the peoples rights and privileges. And ſuch an unconſtitutional union firſt brings on diſaffection among the oppreſſed; then penal laws; and ſometimes a ſtanding army to quell their ſpirits, and to force them to ſubmit to the miniſterial yoke. Therefore,

THEY, who have thus been attacked by a corrupt adminiſtration, always diſtinguiſhed between that way of governing, which, by art and power, tends to the deſtruction of the conſtitution; and that regal government, which gives life to the reſolutions of the great national council: and not only diſcountenances, but delivers up to the reſentment of the people, thoſe court harpies, who make a prey of majeſty, and devour the ſubject under fair pretences; and thoſe traiterous, inſinuating paraſites, who endeavour to inſpire into his ſacred breaſt an unworthy jealouſy of his people.

A ſovereign thus qualified is always in poſſeſſion, not only of the crown, but of the fortunes and hearts alſo of his ſubjects. And the prince that regards not the injuries of his people, nor gives himſelf concern about the mal-practices of his miniſters, is no leſs a tyrant, than one, who rules

rules by his own will, and ſeeks an opportunity to make them ſlaves. I need not enumerate the fatal conſequences of ſuch a government; neither can I harbour ſo bad an opinion of the preſent miniſtry, as to apprehend any deſign to copy after the worſt of times, when kings have been reduced to a neceſſity of ſubmitting to the impoſitions of their miniſters; when a parliament was chiefly compoſed of place-men and penſioners; when the public money was ſquandered away in petty alliances, and a war carried on with the iniquitous view, not to curb our enemies, nor to revenge injuries; nor for the glory of our country, and defence of our property, but to conſume the riches of the people. When trade was not only neglected, but cramped by penal laws; and forced to give way to our rivals in foreign markets, for want of due encouragement at home: when bribery had ſeized upon every poſt of honour, every avenue to the throne, and corrupted many hearts entruſted with the liberties of the people: and when tyrannical governors, cowardly admirals, partial judges, time-ſerving ſheriffs, and unchriſtian biſhops, oppreſſed the colonies, diſgraced the Britiſh flag, perverted juſtice, made falſe returns, and enacted laws for the toleration of Judaiſm. This I muſt declare, that it would be better to expire in ſervitude, than to live and ſee ſuch a diſmal freedom.

Now, as a Freeholder, I ſhall give a word of advice concerning the manner of preſerving that freedom, to which we are intitled by the conſti-

tution of our country. Nothing can deſtroy the conſtitution of Britain, but the people of Britain. While we preſerve our own integrity and reject all undue influence, ariſing from private intereſt, dependants on a court, and the creatures of a miniſter, there can be no fear of our liberties; not even from a parliament, ſhould there ever come ſuch a one, whoſe majority ſhall be grown ſo corrupt, as to aſſemble for little elſe than to eſtabliſh grievances, inſtead of redreſſing them; to approve of the meaſures of a court, without due information or conſideration of their conſequences to the people; to engage their country in alliances, treaties, and wars, without examination; and to give money without account, and almoſt without ſtint? becauſe a time muſt come when the power of ſuch traitors to their conſtituents will have an end; and the oppreſſed electors ſhall be enabled to throw the guardianſhip of their liberty and property into better hands.

WHAT can be expected by thoſe, who yield to the enchantments of gold, and ſeek to raiſe a private advantage from that voice, they are only entruſted with by the public to give in the choice of parliament-men for the general good of the nation? can it be ſuppoſed that he who buys your vote will refuſe a valuable conſideration for it? is not this traffic of votes a ſelling of your liberty? nor can I be reproved ſhould I add that it is a breach of truſt in every elector, who in this caſe deprives the conſtitution of his help, and

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brings in a repreſentative to ſap its very foundation.

WHAT danger do we face when we chuſe a place-man, or any one nearly connected with him in intereſt? his fortune will be his chief point in view; whatever may become of the public weal. And as he holds his place at the pleaſure of the executive power, and is to be paid by the money raiſed on the ſubjects; he muſt act under that influence, which is always encroaching upon our freedom; and join in all bills, be they ever ſo burdenſome to the nation; provided they be calculated by an ignorant overbearing, or an avaricious miniſter of ſtate. Such a ſpurious repreſentative is the offspring of corruption: And what can be expected from him, but an obſequious readineſs at all times to reconcile and juſtify the moſt contradictory meaſures of his patron, and to vote his crude and indigeſted dreams into laws? and what would be the fatal conſequence to the nation, ſhould there ever be returned a majority of ſuch members? the doors of that place, where our complaints ought to be heard and redreſſed, would, in the end, be for ever ſhut againſt us.

THE ſame reaſon that made Britons deſirous to eſtabliſh their liberty, muſt make them ſolicitous to preſerve it; and, as in the caſe of the revolution, ſet them, who watch for our ſecurity, above the imputation of diſloyalty or faction. So that in all propoſals and ſchemes of government, the real patriots ſhould never engage themſelves beyond

beyond retreat. The moſt ruinous and ſlaviſh projects have been adorned with the brighteſt jewels of the diadem, and backed with no leſs than parliamentary ſanction. And there are certain periods of time, which, when once ſlipped, render all cautions, even of the ſupreme power, ineffectual; and ſerve to convince us, that what is oppreſſion and arbitrary power at one time, cannot be juſtice and freedom at another.

HAD the Roman people thus preſerved their virtue, and preferred their liberty to a bribe; had they not put to ſale the election of their magiſtrates, the ſentences of their judges, and the decrees of their ſenate, it was not the power of a Cæſar, nor the tyranny of a Nero, nor the ſtupidity, madneſs, ambition, or luſt of any of their princes; nor even the flattery, inſolence, nor rapaciouſneſs of miniſters, paraſites, and panders, that could have deprived them of their liberty, riches, power, and glory. But, where luxury grows up to favour corruption, and corruption is become neceſſary to ſupport the luxury of any people; then, they, whether Greeks, Barbarians, or Britons, will fall into a ſtate as miſerable as that of venal Rome: and they will deſerve to fall, if they ſuffer, under any pretence or by any hands, that conſtitution to be ruined; which cannot be deſtroyed, unleſs they ſuffer it, and cooperate with the enemies of a free ſtate.

IN a word; the ſpirit of liberty, if it be kept alive by conſtant action, will never ſuffer the nation to be enſlaved; but all ſchemes of uſur-

pation will be baffled, while true patriots remain warm and active in their contention for the public good. Nor can ſuch a conduct fail of raiſing in every Britiſh heart that zeal and indignation, which muſt at laſt triumph over all undue Influences in a Britiſh parliament.

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No. 5. SATURDAY, *September* 6th, 1755.

—— To inſtruct the mind, to arm the ſoul
With virtue, which no dangers can controul,
Exalt the thought, a ſpeedy courage lend,
That horror cannot ſhake, or pleaſure bend:
Theſe are the Engliſh arts, theſe we poſſeſs,
To be the ſame in miſery and ſucceſs;
To teach oppreſſors law, — aſſiſt the good,
Relieve the wretched, and ſubdue the proud,
Such are our ſouls ——

The MAN of HONOUR.

THE intention of this paper has been publickly declared, to ſupport good as well as to oppoſe bad government: and can I be ſilent and deny due praiſe to that ſpirit and reſolution, which has been lately ſhewn by the preſent adminiſtration in our naval armament? On the contrary, every true Briton ſhould endeavour to ſupport ſuch meaſures to the utmoſt of his power. Should not they at the helm, who appear ſenſibly

bly touched at the cries of the people, and take up ſuch reſolutions as are agreeable to the nation and moſt proper to redreſs their grievances, be commended, and effectually enabled to carry them into execution? and does not the voice of the people (which will never call out for meaſures that muſt encreaſe their taxes without great neceſſity) cry loudly, at preſent, for a war, to reſtrain the ambitious views of the French, our perfidious neighbours? whoſe deep concerted ſchemes, for many years, to drive us out of the American colonies, had almoſt ſucceeded, by the connivance or neglect of thoſe miniſters, who ſuffered them to ſettle and erect forts, even within the limits of our plantations.

BUT there are two things to be conſidered ſhould a war enſue: one in regard to the people, which is, that they may be ſatisfied in what way it will be carried on: another in regard to the crown, which is, how the money to ſupport a juſt and neceſſary war can be raiſed; for it is now become a maxim in politicks, founded upon experience, That he who has the longeſt purſe will wear the longeſt ſword.

As to the firſt; let thoſe now concerned for the nation ſteer clear of the blunders, miſtakes, and mal-practices, which deprived us of the advantages expected in the laſt war; and make the true intereſt of Great Britain the ſole object of their operations, and they need not doubt of giving ſatisfaction to the people. A vigorous exertion of our naval force, the natural ſtrength

of our dominions, and the employment of commanders, whoſe reſolution, courage, or conduct has never incurred reproach, moſt aſſuredly will convince them of that wiſdom and integrity, which ſhould always be found, where a national confidence is expected to be placed.

THE burden of a war muſt be borne by the people, which gives them a right to complain, when they are neglected; much more when they are ill treated by thoſe entruſted with their property; and when they ſee their treaſure miſapplied and conſumed in penſions, ſubſidies, and the defence of foreign powers. And the miniſter that treated them with contempt, has always repented of his conduct: even that father of corruption, who placed his ſecurity in a ſtanding army, and a p--l--m--nt of place-men and penſioners, could not maintain his poſt; but fell a ſacrifice to thoſe very merchants he had threatened with beggary and deſtruction.

THEREFORE, if a war is reſolved on to reſcue our colonies out of the danger, to which they have been ſo long expoſed, and to protect our trade: If the miniſtry expect to be ſupported in a proper manner; let them baniſh all thoughts of tranſporting armies into Flanders, and of ſquandering away the nations treaſure upon hireling forces. Shall England never ſee through the miſtake of neglecting our own colonies, and in a manner abandoning them to hoſtile invaſions; while her armies are employed in the defence of ſtates, that never ſlipped

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an opportunity to injure our trade, and never ſcrupled to join our enemies, when in hopes thereby to gain the leaſt advantage? to whoſe account are we to place our debt of eighty millions? Not to thoſe wars which have been neceſſary to maintain the internal tranquillity, the trade, the property, honour, and dignity of Great Britain; but to ſuch engagements and connections with Holland, and other ſtates on the continent, which may ſerve to continue and increaſe our taxes, but can never help us in diſtreſs.

I muſt confeſs, that the preſent armament gives great expectations of better things. And it is to be hoped, where there are no wicked puſillanimous ſchemes to be ſupported, merit will always receive its due, and the enemy muſt then yield to more equitable terms. Let us only refer back to the concluſion of the laſt war, when, by a happy turn, men of experience and valour ſucceeded the minions of the laſt miniſter. Though the French had over-run Flanders, and nothing could prevent their marching to the gates of Amſterdam, our fleets, by obſtructing their navigation and ruining their trade, ſtopped the reſources of all their riches, and forced them to relinquiſh the imaginary advantages of their conqueſts.

THE policy of France is greatly altered within this century: an invaſion of Flanders is a meer bugbear, and a contrivance to make us draw off thoſe forces, and to ſpend that money, which

ought to be employed in more effectual ſervices, to defend a number of towns and a length of ſea coaſt, which, when taken, the French are not able to garriſon, and which it was never their intention to annex to their crown. Their real ſcheme is to conquer a ſpot of land ſomewhere about the middle of the North American coaſt, by whoſe produce, in tobacco, might be ſaved to their nation upwards of one hundred thouſand pounds *per annum*, while they amuſe us with invaſions and conqueſts; the deſign of which we idly imagine, is to ſecure to themſelves ſettlements in Europe. This is ſo palpable, that the very Dutchmen themſelves are convinced of it, or they cannot reconcile with good policy, the withdrawing of their garriſons out of the barrier towns, and thereby expoſing their borders to the incurſions of the grand monarch.

LET France raiſe four hundred and fifty thouſand men; what muſt be the conſequence of ſuch a numerous army? They muſt be paid; and where will they raiſe the money, if their trade is ruined? thoſe very forces, which are ſo often boaſted of to over-awe their neighbours, muſt live upon the vitals of their own country, or diſband themſelves for want of employment; could Britain be once reſolved to depend on their naval power, and to ſtrengthen the hands of their colonies, ſo as to enable them utterly to extirpate thoſe perfidious neighbours, that

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can be content with nothing leſs than our expulſion from thoſe moſt valuable poſſeſſions. As for the ſtale argument, that the German princes muſt fall under the Gallic power, unleſs protected by Great Britain; it deſerves no conſideration. It is even begging the queſtion; Have they ever been put to the trial. Let them fight a little, *pro aris & focis*, as the Dutch did againſt Philip II. of Spain; and there cannot be the leaſt doubt, but that all the powers on the continent (if neceſſary) will unite againſt ſuch a reſtleſs and ambitious neighbour, and enter into a league for that purpoſe, which, cemented by ſelf-preſervation, will bind them much firmer together than the largeſt Britiſh ſubſidies.

THERE is yet another conſideration, and a weighty one too, why we ſhould prefer a ſea, to a land-war on a foreign continent. The large ſums of money, which are applied for the payment of hirelings, or of our own national troops, ſent abroad, never return into this nation: whereas, moſt of the money expended on the marine, and obtained by prizes, is laid out at home, and circulates amongſt our own people. Therefore a ſea-war is moſt eligible; it is what the nation has long wiſh'd for, and is moſt ready to ſupport; becauſe, thereby we expend leaſt; reap the greateſt advantage to ourſelves; and do the greateſt damage to our enemies: to this kind of war we are indebted for Gibraltar and Port-Mahon: and I am ſorry that I cannot find out one

foot of land on the continent, belonging to Great Britain, that has been either conquered or preſerved at ſuch a vaſt profuſion of Britiſh money and Britiſh blood, as have been laviſhly thrown away in our former land-wars.

THAT theſe and the like conſiderations have had their due influence on our preſent councils, there is great reaſon to hope from that vigour and activity, with which our naval force is commiſſioned to annoy, and ſtrike terror into a daſtardly people, who triumph in their perfidy, who confide in their deceit, invade us in time of peace, and cut our throats under the name of friends; I ſay, there is reaſon to hope that they are not to be deceived, nor to be made ridiculous and contemptible, by prolonging negotiations about our undoubted rights, eſtabliſhed by the law of nature, as well as by particular treaties: and as long as this ſhall appear to be the object of their arming, there can be no doubt of a cheerful and effectual ſupport from the people. Did they not contribute willingly under an adminiſtration that gave them great reaſon to doubt of ſucceſs? what then may be expected towards the ſupport of a war not only commenced at their own requeſt, but carried on in ſuch a manner as they apprehend will beſt promote their public intereſt; and a miniſter, who is afraid of throwing himſelf upon the affections of the people, or of making himſelf popular by ſubmitting to their judgment, where their property is chiefly concerned, muſt be

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one trained up in the ſchool of corruption: a ſpawn of that miniſter, who prefered any ſort of peace to a neceſſary war; who eſtabliſhed a miniſterial tyranny by corrupting the repreſentatives of the people, and by an undue influence in both houſes of parliament, contrary to the real intereſt of the king and ſubject.

But, if we are rightly informed by the ch——r of the ex——r in the laſt ſeſſions of parliament, that the government by the year 1757, would be able to raiſe four millions *per annum*, without any new tax, except two ſhillings more on the land: and that this would be a ſufficient ſum for the maintenance of a ſea-war; there can be no want of money, nor any new debts contracted. Oh! may we hope that the time is come, when the miniſtry and people ſhall be ſo united in one intereſt, as to cleanſe the Augean ſtable of corruption! when it ſhall be ſaid by the deliverers of the people to a pack of place-men, who in idleneſs and luxury eat out the vitals of the nation by their large ſalaries, and execute their office by deputies; and to the gang of penſioners, Away with you! we want no ſuch ſlender ſupports! we depend on our own integrity, and the voice of the people! and by applying the immenſe ſums paid you in ſalaries and penſions, to the ſupport of a juſt and neceſſary war, for maintaining the honour and dignity of the crown, and protecting the trade of the nation, we ſhall relieve their taxes, we ſhall convince them by

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our actions, that it is their intereſt to aid and aſſiſt us; and ſhall eſteem it a greater honour to be thus immortalized with the title of good and faithful ſtewards to our king and country, than to be idolized at our levees by that crawling vermin of a free ſtate, who ſuck the choiceſt and moſt nouriſhing parts of that blood, every drop of which ought to circulate to give due warmth and energy to the whole conſtitution.

Q.

No. 6. SATURDAY, *September* 13th, 1755.

Æquam memento rebus in arduis
Servare mentem ———

HOR.

Mr. MONITOR!

YOU cannot do your honeſt countrymen a greater piece of ſervice, at ſuch a time as this, than by ſtrongly inculcating that firmneſs of mind, which is here recommended. I am not one of thoſe, who give into all the extravagances of the ſtoic philoſophy. In ſpite of a thouſand Zeno's, I profeſs myſelf (becauſe I feel myſelf) but too often mere fleſh and blood. I avow pain to be an evil; and when a boy at Weſtminſter ſchool, I ſoon found my old maſter, Dr. Friend, a much better reaſoner than the ſage Epictetus. But though I had much

rather be well than ſick, and am not ſturdy enough to keep my temper in Phalaris's bull, I have gone through ſome very ſevere trials with becoming patience and reſignation. This I take to be as far as human nature can go; and in a ſcene ſo chequered as life is, with numberleſs evils, croſſes, and diſappointments, happy the man who can encounter them with a proper degree of firmneſs and reſolution.

But while I am indulging theſe reflections upon perſonal misfortunes, I am inſenſibly deviating from my principal aim, which is, to animadvert a little upon our behaviour under national diſaſters; and to cheer up the ſpirits of my drooping countrymen, who ſeem much more depreſſed with the melancholy news they have lately received from America, than Britons ought to be: I wiſh, Mr. Monitor, I could ſay, than they uſually are. Nothing is more remarkable than the damp with which we are ſtruck at the news of ſome unexpected defeat, unleſs it be our extravagant exultations at every little ſucceſs. Whether this is wrought into our very natures, and is ſome how or other the characteriſtic of an Engliſhman, I know not; but ſure I am, 'tis our diſgrace, and argues a littleneſs of mind that ill becomes the deſcendants of thoſe, who triumphed at Blenheim and Ramilies; whoſe anceſtors reaped the bloody harveſt of Creſſy and Agincourt. I have heard of a gentleman, who I am ſatisfied wiſhes as well to his country, as any man in it, that was ſo ex-

exaſperated at the infamous behaviour of our troops in the Weſt Indies, as to threaten to ſell his eſtate, (which it ſeems is a very conſiderable one) and ſettle himſelf in France. A worthy friend of mine, who uſed to carry his notions of Britiſh courage as high as any-body, ſwears that the Engliſh ſpirit is quite ſunk, and that we ſhall never look our enemy in the face any more. When I remind him of Dettingen and Culloden, and the rapid conqueſts of John Duke of Marlborough, he ſhakes his head and talks of nothing but Preſton-Pans, Falkirk, and Fort Duqueſne. Upon the whole; for I would not engroſs too much of your paper, what I would have you impreſs upon my countrymen is this; That we may reap advantages, if rightly improved, even from our misfortunes: That it is equally abſurd to conclude, that becauſe in ſome late inſtances we have proved ourſelves not to be invincible, we are never more to gain a victory; as it would have been to infer from a ten years uninterrupted ſucceſs in Queen Anne's time, that we were never to loſe a battle. Inſtead of ſlackening our diligence, after ſo ignominious a defeat, what have we to do, but to ſtand our ground with the more firmneſs another time, and face our enemy with redoubled ardor. *Non ſi male nunc, & olim ſic erit.—Nil deſperandum*, was the Roman motto, and ought to be ours. The miſtreſs of the world was once ſtopp'd in her career of glory, and ſubmitted her neck to the yoke in the Caudian

Caudian forks; but Romans were Romans ſtill; and ſhe ſoon made her enemies pay very dear for this diſgrace. Thank God, we have infinite reſources, both at home and abroad: nurtured in principles of liberty, and ſenſible of our happineſs, beyond that of any other people; what have we to fear? long, very long muſt it be, e're French policy or force can reduce us to our *ne plus ultra*. We have been, we are a brave people; and if I may venture to propheſy, ſhall ſoon recover that reproach we at preſent labour under, from the daſtardly behaviour of a handful of miſcreants, who have baſely betrayed their country, and rendered themſelves infamous to all poſterity.

I am,

Auguſt 30, 1755. *Sir, Yours,*

BRITANNICUS.

I ſhall make no apology for inſerting the above letter, as I believe my readers will agree with me, that there never was a time when the exertion of that noble and manly virtue, ſo ingeniouſly and ſeaſonably recommended by Britannicus, was ſo loudly called for from Britons.

To what malevolent cauſe can we aſcribe the decay of Britiſh courage; and the increaſe of Gallic bravery? We value ourſelves upon high notions of freedom, to which we are juſtly intitled by our national conſtitution. They are born ſlaves, and fight under a falſe and fictitious paſſion;

ſion; not for liberty, but to gratify the ambition of a tyrant: and yet muſt be allowed to have diſplayed ſuch inſtances of courage and gallantry, in theſe latter days, as would add glory to the Britiſh name. A circumſtance entirely owing to the art of government; which is, to give merit it's due; to make courage and gallantry the only road to a ſoldier's preferment. This is the grand ſecret, and the true indication of the wiſdom of the French policy; which animates ſlaves with the ſpirit of freemen: and the want of which enervates the courage, and debaſes thoſe that are really ſo, to the condition of ſlaves.

WITHOUT a real ſenſe of honour there can be expected no ſpirit capable of encountering a brave and reſolute enemy, inflamed with a ſenſe of glory; and the beſt diſciplined armies, which have loſt all that ſenſe of duty, and whoſe paſſions never roſe higher in their country's ſervice than to receive their pay, has never been famous for their victories. For, where money and plunder are preferred to liberty and honour, that nation can never ſucceed in any eminent degree in its military capacity.

MERCENARIES were never to be depended on: puſillanimity, ſelf-preſervation, new privileges and greater advantages, have frequently ruined the beſt cauſe, where there has been no better defence than the arms of hireling troops. A crew, to whom an army, fighting under the impulſe of liberty, never yielded upon diſhonourable

nourable conditions. There is no need to refer to the hiſtory of ancient Rome; nor even to the modern ſtory of Switzerland and Sweden, to ſhew, that the greateſt actions in the field are atchieved by men fighting to preſerve their laws, religion, and freedom. Our annals record the valour and ſucceſs of the men of Kent; whoſe courage, ſharpened with the dread of being inſlaved by an arbitrary invader, forced him to confirm their immunities before they would recognize his ſovereignty. And the recent memory of the Grand Rebellion, in which Cromwell with an army of rude undiſciplined enthuſiaſts and apprentice boys, ſpirited up in the name of liberty, gained many battles, may ſerve to convince us, that regular troops, headed by experienced, and even by couragious officers, want ſomething more than their pay to engage them heartily in the true intereſt of their country. What ſhall we then not fear, when theſe mercenaries have juſt cauſe to complain of ſeverity and ill uſage from their commanders? Puniſhments as well as rewards are neceſſary inſtruments for the ſupport of government: But ſeverity never carries that authority, nor works ſo effectually on the mind of a free Briton, as gentle uſage, and a ſtrict attention to military merit.

THE unnatural means introduced by corrupt miniſters, to deprive the people of their freedom, by diſarming them, by ſmothering the ſpirit of liberty, and by endeavouring to deſtroy the

the very idea of it out of their minds; muſt ſooner or later, and in proportion to the loſs of their liberty, expoſe the nation to contempt and ruin.

THE man that carries a muſket, if he retains no ſenſe of liberty, nor has any expectations of preferment, is not much to be depended on in the hour of danger. But if he has been taught, and is convinced that the moſt valuable bleſſing of life is liberty; and that by fighting for his country, he is fighting for the happineſs of himſelf and his poſterity, an Engliſhman will always act up to the ſpirit of his illuſtrious anceſtors: provided he be led to battle by a general, of whoſe abilities he has a good opinion, and on whoſe juſtice and benevolence he has reaſon to think he can confide. As ſoldiers, this is an additional motive, beſides the love of their country, to fire their courage in the time of action.

BUT whether theſe particulars have been maturely conſidered and ſufficiently adverted to by the preſent wiſe and magnanimous adminiſtration, the public will judge. And thus far I will ſay, that if military preferments are beſtowed on motives extrinſic of military duty; on men, who have no other merit than an intereſt in a borough or in a member of parliament, ſubſervient to a miniſterial nod; and are denied to the brave and experienced ſoldier, who has ſaved his country from rapine, murder, and tyranny;

ranny; and if our armies are animated by no higher motive than to fight for a groat or five pence *per* day, we cannot expect to revenge the late diſhonour; nor to retrieve a loſs, which reproaches us with turning our backs on a nation of ſlaves, more than once conquered by our progenitors.

THEREFORE it highly concerns the guardians of our liberties to enquire into the cauſes of this miſcarriage; and with the greateſt impartiality endeavour to find out, whether it ought to be aſcribed to the cowardice of the common men, or to the miſconduct, neglect, or want of ability in the officers; or to their ill uſage or ſeverity towards the ſoldiers? for ſhould any of thoſe complaints be juſtly founded, it will be in vain to riſque another armament in the wild woods of America, before proper care be taken for the encouragement of the ſoldiery; and to ſend them under ſuch commanders as ſhall treat them like free-born ſubjects of Britain; and not only be witneſſes of every man's courage, but promote him according to his merit.

HAD this been the conduct of the officers in the late expedition; had this been the expectation of the ſoldiers, there would have been no occaſion of this mourning and deſpondency: the colonies would not have been expoſed to the malice of the French: nor to the barbarity of Indians. And I had almoſt ſaid, that a great part of the charge of our preſent armament

might have been ſaved to the nation, and the colonies ſufficiently defended from all invaders, had their brave and rough inhabitants by gentle laws and a mild and temperate regimen been convinced of the difference between a free and a deſpotic government; and ſatisfied in their minds, that whilſt they neglect their own ſettlements, leave their families, and venture their lives, they not only ſerve their country, but promote their own happineſs: and if by their bravery thoſe ſettlements, which the French have uſurped, ſhould be retaken; they ought to be ſecured and confirm'd in the poſſeſſion of them by the moſt ſacred laws. Fidelity is grounded upon confidence and love; and not upon ſuſpicion and a ſlaviſh fear. Z.

No. 7. SATURDAY, *September* 20, 1755.

Ære alieno perditus, & egens.

Cic. II. Philip.

BY all appearances we are once more at the eve of a war: a war with France, on whoſe happy iſſue muſt depend the very exiſtence of our colonies in North America, and the trade and navigation of this kingdom. For the ſupport of which, I am perſuaded, no true Briton will grudge to venture his life and fortune. But there will be required a conſiderable

fund to conduct it with advantage, and to crown it with ſucceſs.

No one ſhall be more ready than myſelf to agree to a ſufficient ſupply of men and money, to ſtrengthen the hands of government, in a juſt and neceſſary war; to maintain the honour and dignity of the Britiſh crown; to defend our poſſeſſions, and to protect our trade and commerce: but we ought not to run precipitately into all the meaſures of a miniſtry: ſomething ought to be done towards preventing both the increaſe of our national debt, and the abuſes of public truſts, by which theſe kingdoms have greatly ſuffered under former adminiſtrations, and to which the preſent difficulties in raiſing money muſt be aſcribed.

DEBT is the ready way to poverty: a wiſe people, no more than a wiſe man, will ever place his ſecurity in a load of debts. They that borrow more than they are able to pay muſt ſink under the weight: their credit muſt fail in proportion to their inſolvency: and their ſtrength will abſolutely waſte with their credit. This is not mere ſpeculation; daily experience in private life, and frequent examples of whole nations, ruined by their debts, will ſupport my aſſertion and my care for the well-being of my dear country. No nation ever ſubmitted to ſlavery till its finances were conſumed, and till the ſubjects vitals were exhauſted. Riches are the vital ſpirits of the body politic, and when

they are ſpent the body can never ſupport itſelf againſt oppreſſion and tyranny.

He that is in debt, in Cicero's ſtile, is loſt; loſt to the ſociety, of which he is a member; becauſe they can receive no benefit or aſſiſtance from him; and loſt to himſelf, becauſe he will be no longer truſted, and is expoſed by his neceſſitous circumſtances to the caprice, contempt and power of his enemies, and too often to the ingratitude and ſlight of thoſe, who have lived upon him. And can it be imagined that a nation, which goes to war with money borrowed at a high intereſt; which maintains large armies to defend foreign countries; pays extraordinary ſubſidies for the friendſhip of ſtates, that can do them neither good nor harm; and conſumes more treaſure in penſions and needleſs ſalaries than would ſuffice to defray the ordinary expence of the government; can ever ſubſiſt where theſe diſburſements are always to be made with other peoples property? ſuch a nation muſt ſooner or later be loſt. The poor labourer and manufacturer will be diſtreſſed; the farmer diſabled from paying his rent; the merchant and tradeſman will be ruined, and even gentlemen of plentiful eſtates will be reduced to the greateſt difficulties in making a tolerable proviſion for their families, in a country where taxes are ſo multiplied as to double the price of the common neceſſaries of life. It is much to be feared that a nation oppreſſed with debt, will but too much reſemble the prodigal child, who having

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ſquandered away his patrimony in luxury and profuſeneſs, gives himſelf up to corruption and venality. For, as national debts and taxes enable one ſet of men to corrupt, ſo they lay a multitude of others under the temptation of being corrupted. And it is well known, that poverty and bad examples will drive men to ſell their deareſt birthright. Therefore it is the duty of our repreſentatives before they grant ſupplies, to conſider in what condition their conſtituents are to pay them; to be well ſatisfied, how they are to be applied, and to whoſe care and management they are to be entruſted.

THE granting ſupplies, though neceſſary, is always laying a burden upon the nation. But to grant them implicitly, without conſidering the preſent diſtreſſes of the people, already ſubject to the payment of eighty millions; loaded with innumerable taxes, and eat up by penſions, ſalaries, and ſtock-jobbing! without enquiring, what men and money will be proper and neceſſary to grant; and without due information how we are ſituated in regard to our affairs abroad, is unparliamentary, and a breach of truſt in the repreſentatives of the nation.

THEREFORE, whatever arguments ſhall be urged for ſtrengthening the crown againſt a foreign enemy: whatever eſtimates ſhall be offered to the houſe by the miniſter; and whatever ſubſidies ſhall be reported as neceſſary to be paid by Great Britain to princes on the continent; the national debt ſhould be firſt conſidered; not

with a view to diſtreſs the throne, nor to cramp a miniſtry, who ſhall deſerve the character of honeſt and true Britons, by their good œconomy and wiſe conduct; and ſhall apply the money intruſted to them, not to the payment of foreign ſubſidies, but to a naval armament, which is our natural ſtrength and ſecurity: but in order to guard againſt that profuſion and miſapplication of the public treaſure by thoſe, whoſe abilities have been diſtinguiſhed, both in public and private life, for their bad œconomy and venality: by which ſo much money has been conſumed; and the people are ſtill left expoſed to their enemies abroad, and groan under debts and taxes, which are the ruin of their trade at home.

We ſhould never place an implicit faith in the wiſdom and integrity of miniſters of ſtate; becauſe they ſeldom deſerve ſo much confidence. Beſides, it is inconſiſtent with the dignity of parliament to give away the money of their conſtituents, without firſt taking the utmoſt care, that what ſhall be demanded for any branch of the public ſervice, ſhall, beyond all contradiction, be made appear to be abſolutely neceſſary.

SHOULD it be propoſed to increaſe our national debt, by entering into another war on the continent; and it ſhall appear, that we are not able to form a confederacy ſufficient to maintain the balance of power by land; all motions for ſubſidies to pay foreign troops, which can be of no ſervice to Great Britain, ought to be rejected: and the money to be raiſed ought to be applied

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in a vigorous exertion of our naval force, on which alone we muſt depend for our future ſafety and protection.

NOR will all theſe precautions deliver us from our grievances, ſhould our repreſentatives neglect to place the truſt of the national affairs under better management. Can there be expected any ſavings, ſhould the public money be intruſted to the care and conduct of men that have loaded us with taxes in time of peace, heavier than our forefathers ever felt in the time of war; and contracted a debt, which, I fear, the whole Britiſh dominions are not able to pay?

SHOULD any unthinking Briton, over zealous in the revenge of the inſults, depredations, and hoſtilities of the French, imagine, that this advice is unſeaſonable; let me refer him to the reign of Richard II. a moſt memorable inſtance of the houſe of commons inſiſting to have the grievances of the nation redreſſed, before they would grant the neceſſary ſupplies. The French had then aſſembled a very formidable army, and a fleet to invade us, which England was in no condition to reſiſt: and all their naval power was within a day's ſail of the Thames mouth. Richard in this imminent danger ſummoned his parliament, and demanded the neceſſary ſupplies to pay and ſupport his army, then living at free quarters about London. What did the parliament in this terrible ſituation? did they inconſiderately grant the king's demand? No: the king had been ill adviſed, the people had

been oppreſſed; and the public money miſapplied by the lord high treaſurer, the lord high chancellor, and others, through whoſe hands the ſupplies had paſſed: and therefore the parliament, both the lords and commons, addreſſed his majeſty to call them to a ſtrict account: to remove the treaſurer and chancellor from his councils: and reſolved to proceed to no buſineſs, till his wicked miniſters ſhould be puniſhed according to their deſerts: which had its deſired effect, wreſted the government out of the power of evil counſellors, and produced a union and confidence between the king and his ſubjects; and thereby defeated the machinations of their enemies. And to mention a precedent of this kind within the memory of ſome now living: the dangerous ſituation Europe in general, as well as this nation, in particular, was reduced to in the year 1694, when our religion, liberties, and independency in a great meaſure depended upon the parliaments granting the neceſſary ſupplies to carry on a war with France, the houſe of commons were ſo ſtung at King William's refuſal in 1693, to give his aſſent to the triennial bill, which had paſſed in both houſes, that they inſiſted to have it aſſented to by his majeſty, before they would grant any ſupplies.

WHATEVER therefore may be the exigences of a ſtate; though the delaying of power to raiſe money, which is the ſtrength of the nation, may expoſe it to the greateſt danger; the bad conduct of miniſters, and their profuſion of public money are grievances that require the previous

ous conſideration of parliament: without the leaſt reflection on their loyalty. Nor will any ſovereign, that ſtudies the good and ſafety of his ſubjects riſque their liberty, and his own crown, by obſtinately protecting thoſe counſellors, who are become the juſt objects of his people's reſentment.

THEREFORE, let it be the glory of the preſent parliament to prevent the ruin of their conſtituents, at leaſt ſo far as to enter into no engagements, which can ſerve only to encreaſe the national debt. Let it be the honour of the adminiſtration to purſue no meaſures, which ſhall create taxes for the defence of any dominions, not ſubject to the Britiſh crown. And let them both ſo far conſult their own and the public intereſt, as in all money affairs to ſeek and follow the council and ſchemes of ſuch patriots, as that ancient ſenator, the father of our metropolis, who has been concerned in the greateſt affairs, and never ſought his own, but his country's good, in all his propoſals to raiſe the neceſſary ſupplies for the ſtate: and to reject and deſpiſe the ſchemes of thoſe rapacious harpies, which inſtead of being calculated how to raiſe money on the eaſieſt terms to the nation, are contrived to aggrandize and enormouſly to enrich themſelves: eſpecially ſhould any ſuch be offered by one, who though he had publickly declared with the utmoſt aſſeverations, that he had no concern in a late money tranſaction, could not breathe Britiſh air, when that ſame matter came to be enquired into. I hope I need not remind

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our preſent miniſtry: *Hic niger eſt, hunc tu, Romane, caveto.* Q.

No 8. SATURDAY, *September* 27th, 1755.

Sylla comitiis centuriatis civitatem eripere non potuit. CIC. *pro* Domo.

NOTHING can be ſo pleaſing to a political writer as to diſcover am aſſemblage of thoughts and affections in him and his readers. It either flatters him that his writings in the cauſe of liberty have animated their reſolutions; or it convinces him that his ſpirit is actuated by the ſame impartiality and principles of love for his country, as they are, who by their public acts confirm the expediency of his admonitions.

How far the Monitor partakes of this pleaſure, may be eaſily ſeen by a compariſon of thoſe ſentiments, which breathe the true old Britiſh ſpirit, in my laſt paper, and which that moſt reſpectable body, the corporation of the city of London has openly avowed, in their late dutiful and affectionate addreſs to His Majeſty.

AN addreſs, which does not echo the flattery of a miniſterial faction: not calculated to deceive and poiſon the ear of their ſovereign; to ſmother the complaints and prayers of the people; to palliate their diſtreſſes, and to ſcreen our enemies from due revenge: but, which is the overflowing

flowing of hearts, replete with truth and liberty; and is intended to rouſe the Britiſh lion from a ſtate of dangerous ſecurity, by making a tender of their lives and fortunes, to enable His Majeſty to begin and carry on a juſt and neceſſary war againſt an enemy, who is not to be bound by treaties; nor to be ſatisfied with any thing leſs than our ruin: but who may at any time be humbled by a proper exertion of that naval force with which providence has diſtinguiſhed this nation, and enabled it, above all others, to defend itſelf.

CAN the lion or the eagle defend themſelves, or ſecure their prey without thoſe weapons, which nature has given them for a guard to themſelves, and annoyance of their enemies? No: and ſhall we iſlanders, whom nature has armed with an adamantine bulwark round our nation, which no power can force, except we pare the lion's nails, by neglecting to exert our naval force; hope for ſucceſs againſt the invaders of our dominions, the ſpoilers of our ſhips, and the enemies of our liberty; ſhould we, by placing our ſecurity and revenge in a war by land, continue that ſyſtem of modern politics, which has ſo often endangered the conſtitution.

THIS cannot admit of the leaſt debate: this I apprehend is the true ſenſe of the city's addreſs. And may the metropolis be followed by the ſame ſpirit, zeal, and reſolution in this, as in all other laudable examples, by the whole nation, in their early and loyal addreſſes to the throne, which

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was never more ſeaſonable than at this juncture: for though the war wants the formality of a proclamation, it is certain that hoſtilities are commenced by France: our poſſeſſions are invaded, our ſhips taken, and our merchants already feel the weight of an inſurance on their adventures, almoſt as heavy as during an open war.

YET it is not to be wondered that the cry of a nation for a war to revenge the indignities offered to the crown, and the encroachments on their trade and poſſeſſions, ſhould meet with oppoſition from the emiſſaries of a *junto*, to whoſe puſillanimity, ignorance, or corruption, may be placed the courage of our enemies; the ill ſucceſs of our negociations, and the miſcarriage of all attempts to diſable our enemies from executing their ambitious ſchemes to the prejudice of the Britiſh empire. And if I may be permitted to compare ſacred hiſtory with political ſtory, without offence to the righteous ears of our preſent moſt chriſtian biſhops: let it be remembered, that the college of twelve apoſtles was not without its Judas: and ſhall it be accounted extraordinary to find a large corporation infeſted by two or three Iſcariots, who with the kiſs of peace, oppoſe all addreſſes, which remonſtrate againſt the hoſtilities of France; which petition for ſpeedy juſtice againſt the enemies of their country, and which in the ſtrongeſt terms aſſure the ſovereign of their ſupport in a juſt and neceſſary war.

WHENEVER there have been any open and violent, any avowed and barbarous encroachments and depredations made by our enemies upon our dominions or trade, it was always juſtifiable in every ſubject, much more in bodies corporate, to carry their complaints to the throne; and to explain to their ſovereign the poſture of the national affairs, without incurring the name of factious or diſaffected. Would it not have been juſtly branded with the ignominious character of paſſive obedience and non-reſiſtance, in 1688. had any member of a corporation endeavoured to explain away the grievances of the nation, and oppoſed a city's remonſtrance againſt the enemies of their country? and can ſuch an oppoſition deſerve to be ſtigmatized with any thing leſs than political quietiſm, when the enemy has already penetrated into our territories; ſlain our men; routed our armies; taken our ſhips, and interrupted our navigation? whoever ſtrives by their power or perſuaſions to deter the people from giving the King the utmoſt aſſurance of their zeal and affection, can be neither a good citizen, nor a good ſubject.

How often has the city of London not only addreſſed but petitioned the King for redreſs of grievances and vigorous meaſures? and even applied to parliament, when their juſt remonſtrances were neglected? the reigns of King Charles the Firſt and Second will furniſh frequent examples. Nor has any danger threatened this nation from a foreign or domeſtic foe,

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for more than ſixty years, which the loyal city of London has not repreſented, by making a dutiful tender of their lives and fortunes to defend and ſupport the crown. And I hope the time will never come, when, *to bear and to forbear*, ſhall be the motto to the eſcutcheon of the liberties of a free-born Briton.

THEREFORE, ſhould there ſtart up any one ſo abandoned to ſhame, and the intereſt of his country, as to eſpouſe the cauſe of an enemy, by attempting to divide his fellow citizens, to cool their zeal in a fair repreſentation of their loſſes, and in vigorous and loyal reſolutions in order to obtain ſatisfaction; let it not deter the honeſt, the wiſe, and the brave, from purſuing ſuch meaſures as are conſiſtent with their loyalty and liberty. Perſeverance in a juſt cauſe will over-rule and bear down the intrigues of a puſillanimous and corrupt oppoſition. It muſt be a loſt cauſe to be reduced to the neceſſity, either to prevent the aſſurances of the people's zeal and affection reaching the ears of majeſty, or to quit that poſt, which has for ſuch a number of years been maintained by an iniquitous profuſion of public money, to corrupt the councils and the hearts of thoſe, whoſe duty it ſhould be, to guard the liberties of their fellow ſubjects.

WHAT the city of London, and all good and true Britons wiſh for, and deſire, is no more than to have a miniſtry, who ſhall not be afraid to defend our conſtitution, and to inform the ſovereign of the true intereſt of his crown

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and ſubjects: who ſhall have the courage to act vigorouſly againſt foreign enemies; and honeſty to reform abuſes at home. Such a miniſtry will never want the affections, nor the ſupport, of the people in all laudable and neceſſary undertakings.

THIS was the good policy of Cecil, when England had more to fear and leſs power by far, to defend herſelf; and yet flouriſhed at home, and was dreaded abroad. He neither weakened the government, nor impoveriſhed the people by hiring foreign mercenary troops. Who paid leſs money to allies? and yet who was ever more reſpected on the continent, and carried the glory of the Britiſh name to a higher pitch, than our Elizabeth? ſhe never could be drawn into thoſe airy romantic expeditions, to do the buſineſs of other nations, which by increaſing the burthen of her ſubjects taxes would have enervated her own ſtate. The ſituation and intereſt of her dominions compared with other nations, pointed out the moſt natural ſtrength to protect her ſubjects from inſults, and to extend her commerce. While ſhe maintained her dominion at ſea, no power could invade or hurt her by land, nor interrupt the trade and navigation of her ſubjects. And therefore ſhe placed her whole dependance on her navy. She underſtood the conſtitution and intereſt of her ſubjects ſo perfectly well, that by her refuſal of the ſovereignty of Holland, ſhe foretold the inconveniencies and prodigious expence that would

would follow to this kingdom, ſhould England be ever engaged to ſupport a war on the continent. How well that glorious and wiſe Queen judged and acted can never be forgot; while millions are raiſed by the power of the Britiſh parliament to pay ſubſidies and foreign troops, and to purchaſe the ſafety of others with our own ruin.

I could wiſh her ſucceſſors had always copied her wiſe adminiſtration: England at preſent has no more real concern in the troubles on the continent, than it had in her days. And to propoſe to humble France by the meaſures taken in the laſt war in Flanders, is no better than meeting our own deſtruction half-way.

But while we cry ſo earneſtly for a war, let our warmth be founded on our intereſt: let us not inſiſt on a rupture with any nation merely to gratify our reſentments; but to procure that redreſs by force of arms, which has been denied by treaty and negociation. And let not our heads be turned with the pompous liſts of our navy, the numbers and gallantry of our ſeamen, the vaſtneſs of our revenues, and the recollection of our former exploits, as to imagine we have nothing to do, but to go in queſt of the enemy in order to conquer: for notwithſtanding our ſtrength and our riches are equal to our moſt ſanguine wiſhes; and it muſt be allowed that our anceſtors reaped many and great victories, we can never hope for ſucceſs if the management of the war ſhall be committed

mitted to thoſe, who declared againſt it and amuſed us with bubble-negociations.

How can we expect vigor from a cabal, who ſo obſtinately oppoſe a war, not only in contempt of the judgment, but in defiance of the reſentment of the whole nation. Peace! peace! upon any terms, has been the cry within doors, and the eccho of their creatures without. And can it be ſuppoſed that a miniſter who has induſtriouſly laboured to ſtave off the war, will adopt the child of the people; and thereby contradict the whole tenor of his conduct, by ſuffering it to thrive under his care?

THE ſad remembrance of that miniſtry, which, to give them an opportunity to ſcourge our merchants for demanding juſtice againſt our enemies, diſclaimed all care of it; named it the merchants war: and ſo managed it, as thereby to exhauſt our purſes, confound our men, weary our patience, and expoſe our conduct; ought to guard us againſt the like diſaſters: and therefore as the honour and dignity of the crown; the diſtreſſes of the ſubjects in America, and the interruption of trade in Europe have made a war neceſſary; let us not regard by what name it ſhall be called, ſo that it be carried on vigorouſly and effectually to reduce our enemies to reaſon, and to ſecure a good and laſting peace. Z.

No. 9. SATURDAY, *October* 4, 1755.

Te, qui incognitum tentaſti, tuique ſimilem exiſtimaſti, non miror, tibique ignoſco: ſed ægredere properè, ne alios corrumpas, cum me non potueris. COR. NEPOS.---*Epaminondas.*

To the FREEHOLDER.

SIR,

NOT long ſince buſineſs called me to the city of Worceſter; and my road lying through a country, which has been lately the ſeat of a warm conteſt; I viſited a friend whom I had not ſeen for ſome years.

CALL him, if you pleaſe, by the name Oſellus; there being a reſemblance in his character to that old Roman, *Abnormis, ſapiens, craſſáque Minerva*; i. e. Little learning, no great addreſs, a tolerable mother wit. However, he is a good natured, hoſpitable, companionable man, and well reſpected in his neighbourhood.

AFTER the uſual ſalutations of friends, who had not met for a conſiderable time, I took my chair with the eaſe and familiarity of a man, who hates ceremony, and where none was expected. Oſellus ſeated himſelf near me; and as I had juſt left London; pray, Britannicus,

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ſays he; for that is my name; what news from the great town? what do the good people there, the merchants, in particular, ſay of the preſent ſituation of our public affairs? what of the ſpirit of our miniſters, which appears to be ſo very different from the old pacific ſyſtems? the perſon who has the honour to ſit at the helm, has certainly begun well; but do they apprehend him equal to the carrying on the plan? the winds are likely to be boiſterous; the ſea to run high: and ſhould the veſſel be loſt through ignorance or miſconduct, what a lamentable caſe ſhall we be in? our all is in a manner embarked.

FIE, my good friend, cries Britannicus; what a queſtion you aſk: can you doubt a man, who, as principal or deputy, has been at the head of affairs for thirty years, at leaſt? ſuppoſe you have no exalted opinion of his genius; ſurely ſuch an experience muſt form a ſtateſman, when you have known many a one made extempore.

CONSIDER, Ofellus, what proof he gave of his ability and management in the laſt war: did he not conduct; at leaſt, had he not the chief hand in conducting it? did he not finiſh it at length with a glorious peace?

You may fancy, perhaps, Ofellus; for ſome of you country gentlemen (let me tell you) are prone to ſtick on the ſurface; that war is nothing elſe, but loggerhead againſt loggerhead: it is ſo, I confeſs, in appearance; but the ſe-

cret, I can aſſure you, lies deeper: it is money fights money; and he that has the laſt guinea may be laſt in the field.

THIS maxim is now unconteſted: Will it not then, do you think, inſpire our man of power with a ſenſe of frugality, and a care of the Exchequer? will he not, when the calls of the public muſt be unavoidably great, ſtudy every art of good huſbandry, that the burthen of the war may lie as light upon the people as poſſible? judge, what he probably will do by what is paſt. He was ſo good an oeconomiſt in the laſt war, that though it continued at leaſt eight years, he only accumulated the national debt with a trifle of thirty millions!

O my dear friend, adds Britannicus, taking Oſellus by the hand; be in no pain; do not be ſuſpicious: all will go, at leaſt all will end well, if you have but the patience to wait.

ALAS! alas! Sir — what? you think me then in jeſt: you doubt my prophecy: come Oſellus; I muſt dealy freely with you; (old friendſhips have a right to it) you private gentlemen, though many of you are very honeſt, have but narrow views: your ideas are contracted; but I can put you in a way to gather new ſights. Have you ſeen a new political paper, entitled the Monitor, or Britiſh Freeholder? who the author is, I know not, nor is it material; but in my humble opinion, it is wrote with an honeſt intention, and without affectation or ſtudied eloquence, delivers maxims, whereby

whereby every true Briton ought to form his judgment, and ſquare his conduct: there you will ſee the Blunders, the tricks, the iniquities of certain ſtate empiricks; who under colour of preſerving our conſtitution, have notoriouſly damaged it: and it points out the genuine intereſt of this nation; and nobly pleads the cauſe of liberty; in ſo clear, ſo familiar, ſo convincing a light; that the meaneſt Freeholder in the nation may underſtand, what is his duty, and what is his right.

SAY you ſo, Britannicus: upon my word a very ſeaſonable paper in the preſent criſis: I know nothing more of it, than that I ſaw it advertized; but I'll write immediately to the publiſher to ſend it me weekly.

WELL Sir, as I have raiſed your curioſity, I will gratify it in part; for I have a paper in my pocket; and by this ſpecimen gueſs at the reſt. Oh! here it is, N°. II. I carry it with me wherever I go, as an epitome of my political bible; nor have I ſhewn it any man, nor indeed heard of any body who has read it, unplaced and unpenſioned, I mean, but highly approves it: nay the hot ones exult and cry out; — we will ſign and ſeal every article of it with our blood.

I am obliged to you, Sir; taking the paper: — Hey day; a ſhort buſineſs truly; but perchance, *multum in parvo*; you ſee I have not forgot my Latin; all pith, I ſuppoſe.

THAT may, or may not be, Ofellus; as it ſhall prove. Doctors, you know, differ; taſtes differ: I ſpeak chiefly for myſelf: and I hope you are not ſo much a courtier, as to make a compliment of your taſte and judgment to mine.

WHAT? I a courtier; not I, in troth; I love plain dealing, and e-gad, ſhall ſpeak as I think.

SUPPER being ended, and the family withdrawn; down ſit our two heroes, and the Monitor compleated the triumvirate. Britannicus takes him up, and having pledged a bumper to the King's health, and proſperity to the war: well, Sir, ſaid he, will you read, or ſhall I? he is in good hands, Britannicus; and my ears are at your ſervice: ſhould anything ſtick, as you proceed, you will pardon my freedom, if I ſtop you.

BRITANNICUS read the Monitor quite thro', unchecked, uninterrupted. Ofellus ſmiled, his eyes ſparkled with joy, and the patriot paſſions played in his features: Britannicus was not blind; well, old friend, ſays he, what think you? how do you like it? —— like it, he replies; why? I never was ſo pleaſed; ſo enlightened in all my life. Why? it is all marrow, all kernel: how ſhall I expreſs myſelf? why; it is the very quinteſſence of all our politics at the club: well, here's a bumper to the unknown author: he writes like a man; he writes like an honeſt man, and a true Briton

Why;

Why; it is all; it is every thing drawn into a point: it is a fine political picture in miniature: 'ods-heart, what ſhall I compare it to? it is like, I think, one of Spencer's charming enamell'd ones; where every thing; lines, complexion, features, air, fleſh, ſpirit, are all expreſſed to the life; and yet in an oval of an inch ſquare. Amazing! that the true policy and government of this nation ſhould be in ſo narrow a compaſs.

WHAT! but fifteen propoſitions; plain, convincing, intelligible to every reader that is not a driveller. 'Odſooks, I think, I could make a ſtateſman myſelf; there ſeems to be little wanting beſides a good heart.

BUT come; talking is dry; —— give me your toaſt: — conſtitution in church and ſtate; — with all my heart Britannicus. No man, though I ſay it, loves the conſtitution better than I do: and next to the conſtitution I love the king and his family; and I hope they who have been ſo long tampering with our old Engliſh conſtitution, and have ſo lamentably damaged it, under the pretence of being its beſt friends, have ſeen their error, and will try no more of their damn'd noſtrums.

I am glad, my dear friend, to find you ſo loyal; I always thought you a good ſubject, and ſtill think you one, notwithſtanding ſome ſad things have been lately rumoured of you.

O Sir; I could eaſily ſolve that riddle; you know how high matters have been carried in

this county; let me tell you, I and many other worthy gentlemen Freeholders, have been ſcandalized: but truth in time will, I doubt not, be triumphant; and then the world will ſee, which is the beſt citizen; which the beſt ſubject; the plain, diſintereſted, unintriguing, man; or the dirty, double, and corrupt wretch; who like a mere machine, has no movement but what he receives from the leaden hand of his imperious director.

NEVERTHELESS, it is hard, very hard, Britannicus, to be uſed ſo baſely.

How hard, Oſellus? have not worthy citizens in all ſtates been thus treated, ever ſince government exiſted? but by whom, I beſeech you? By perſons who repreſent patriotiſm as a jeſt; and patriots, as ſo many Don Quixots: that is, by the worſt of men. Suppoſe ſuch men ſpoke well of you; would not that hurt your fame more than all their blackening.

BE patient then, my friend, and let them go on; the reign of falſhood and corruption, tho' the hands ſhould be changed to ſerve preſent purpoſes, cannot be immortal.

THERE are many worthy men in the preſent parliament; men of fortune, ability, integrity; and withal men of a ſpirit, that nothing but truth can ſubdue: I'll anſwer for them, they will keep a ſharp look-out; and be as zealous and active in pulling down our domeſtic foes, as they are in repelling our foreign enemies.

You revive me, my dear Britannicus; pray God, it may prove ſo: may their virtuous attempts be crowned with ſucceſs; but I am afraid, I am jealous: you know, how often we have been gulled; what renegadoes we have had. Some of them are in their graves; I'll not diſturb them: ſome are ſtill living; let them ſtink above ground; I aſk no puniſhment, but the pangs of their own reflections.

We are got, Oſellus, into a large field, and time wears away.—Britannicus then pulled out his watch: — bleſs me; it is ten o'clock, your uſual hour: I won't break in upon it. Paugh! what talk you of hours? I could ſit up the whole night, could we finiſh the ſubject, and it would do any good.

Britannicus was riſing; Sir; you ſha'nt ſtir an inch, till the bottle be out; there is but a glaſs or two left: but if we muſt keep up old cuſtoms, uſe your liberty, on this condition, that as you have promiſed to ſpend to-morrow with me, we take up the ſubject, at the point, we leave off: agreed: — and after the uſual compliment each retired to bed. D.

N.B. *The Freeholder, as he is determined to court the regard of the public, upon no other terms than real merit, or in proportion to the ſpirit of his writings, hopes his friendly correſpondent will not be diſpleaſed with a candid declaration, that if his ingenious dialogue could*

could have been connected properly, without that part containing his encomium on the Monitor, it would have been all omitted, to avoid, as much as poſſible, the imputation of that common deception, called a puff, or ſelf-commendation, invented and uſed by bookſellers, to promote the ſale of the worſt performances.

No. 10. SATURDAY, *October* 11, 1755.

—Ἀλλὰ σὺ σῇσιν ἔχε φρεσὶ, μηδέ σε λήθη
Αἱρέτω, αὖτ' ἄνσε μελίφρων ὕπνος ἀνίη.
HOM. Il. 2.

Awake, but waking this advice approve,
And truſt the viſion that deſcends from Jove.
POPE.

OFELLUS roſe at ſix, Britannicus about eight; for being a little fatigued with his journey the day before, he lay longer than his common hour.

WHEN he came down, he found Ofellus in the parlour: ——Good-morrow, Ofellus;—— Sir, the like to you; I hope you are well, and ſlept well; never better, I aſſure you; and beſides, I ſpent the night in the beſt company I ever met with in my whole life.

BE-LIKE then you had an entertaining dream; that, I ſuppoſe, is your meaning. The very

very thing; not entertaining only, but very intereſting and inſtructive. Well; but you don't intend to ingroſs the whole pleaſure and benefit to yourſelf; I hope, I may have the honour, and as your friend, I think, I have a kind of right to ſhare in it.

It is a pretty long narrative, Oſellus; but after breakfaſt it is at your ſervice.

The tea and bread and butter were ſoon introduced; and curioſity did not a little accelerate the meal. When it was over, Oſellus! cries Britannicus, it is a fine morning; ſuppoſe you and I take a walk in your paſtures, and pay a viſit to your fine nurſery of oaks; my night adventures may poſſibly amuſe us by the way.

Up ſtarts Oſellus; and ſeizing his ſtick, preſented Britannicus with another. Out they ſally; and before they had paſſed the firſt cloſe, Britannicus thus begins:

You cannot be ignorant, my good friend, when any converſation paſſes in the evening, that warms and engages the heart, how the ideas of it haunt us in our night ſlumbers. The outward ſenſes being then all ſhut up, the imagination has its full ſcope and liberty to play; and taking up the ball again, toſſes it up and down, to and fro, as you have ſeen a racket; though for the moſt part, in an odd, irregular and romantic manner; intermixing withal many abſurd phantoms that have no exiſtence in nature, and which never deform and diſturb our waking thoughts.

Ne-

NEVERTHELESS the caſe laſt night was very different. No ſooner was I compoſed into a ſound ſleep, than the viſion of the night made its appearance. It was not a deluſive one, like that my motto refers to; but a dream, methinks, ſent and inſpired by ſome good angel; perhaps the guardian genius of our Britiſh iſle.—Be that, as it may:—

I was carried on a ſudden, as I thought, into a ſpacious room, decently furniſhed with tables, chairs, and ſconces, which were all lighted. There were in the room ſeveral gentlemen, handſomely dreſſed: others dropped in, two or three at a time; ſo that in leſs than an hour the aſſembly amounted to above an hundred.

AFTER a little chit-chat, and compliments of courſe, they all ſat down: then a young man ſtood up, and made a motion, that one ſhould take the chair, which was an elbow one, and placed a little higher than the reſt, at the upper end of the room. It was put to the vote, who the perſon ſhould be: and they unanimouſly pitcht upon Cato, their old prolocutor.—Cato obeyed, mounted the chair, and, will you believe me, began his ſpeech at the very point, where you and I broke off laſt night.

Do you recollect, Ofellus, what that was? perfectly well; you were ſaying, there were many worthy patriots in the preſent parliament: I ſhook my head and cried; pray God, there may! but you know how often our credulity has been abuſed; how many under the maſk of popularity,

rity, and a pretended love of their country, meant nothing at the bottom, but themſelves; ſo that when the bait was thrown before them, they ſwallowed it at once, made ſeparate bargains, and left their friends to ſhift, as they could.

THE very thing; only you have a little dilated the thought. — There we left off, and there Cato began.

YOU cannot but be ſenſible, my countrymen and fellow-citizens, under what a diſadvantage we lie, who profeſs a zeal for the public intereſt: there is an infidelity in the people, and there is cauſe for that infidelity: they having been ſo often deceived and abuſed. I may, I think, without vanity affirm, that there is a great deal of difference between us, and the men, who acted this ignominious, and miſchievous part; ignominious to themſelves, miſchievous to their country: and when this difference is fairly laid before the people; I cannot conceive, it will be a very difficult taſk for us to recover that confidence, which they had ſo unwittingly miſplaced in others.

PRAY, what were the perſons, who ſo duped them, and ſtigmatized themſelves? were not many of them ſuch as had accepted places, and long fought the battles of the grand ſyſtematical corrupter? were they not perſons, who had travelled with him, blind-fold, through all his dirty meanders; unheeding, where they trod, what deſtruction they made, or what their progreſs would

would end in?—Such was their merit: and could ſuch ſervice be duly rewarded? they aſked; he gave: but when they aſked, what he could not, or would not give; behold, they revolted, and by a ſtrange metamorphoſis became patriots in a moment.

HAD they left their old maſter upon a conviction, that his meaſures grew worſe and worſe; and that they could go on no longer with him, it had been a laudable and virtuous repentance: but it was no ſuch thing; as appeared from their conduct, when they had pulled him down. They had long, loudly, and juſtly complained of blunders, abuſes, and grievances of all kinds; but when they came into power, what did they do? did they endeavour to mend thoſe overſights, to redreſs thoſe grievances, and put the adminiſtration upon a better footing? nothing was leſs in their thoughts: they improved the change to their own private account; and the nation was abſolutely forgot.

BUT is that, my countrymen, our condition? have we ever been the tools of power? have we ever ſacrificed our word, or our honour to the lures of places, riches, or titles? have we ever acted contrary to our open and repeated profeſſions of love for our country? has any one public meaſure been propoſed, apparently for the good of the nation, in which we have not concurred? any deſtructive one, which we have not zealouſly oppoſed? ſuch an uniform integrity; ſuch a conſiſtency of conduct has, ſure-

ly, a right to be regarded: and I will not indulge ſo low an opinion of the good ſenſe of our people; as to ſuſpect their confidence in us.

THE ſpring muſt be pure, where the ſtream is ſo clear: and if we perſevere in the ſame path of uprightneſs; I doubt not, but we ſhall recover, in ſome meaſure the dignity of human nature, and the honour of parliament; which is ſunk very low in the eſtimation of all without doors.

I need not expatiate before you, gentlemen, upon the lamentable condition of this nation, from the vaſt public debt, and the proſpect of an expenſive war: which, without every ſaving expedient, muſt add greatly to it, and ſoon cruſh us to nothing. This may be an invidious, but it is an alarming truth! What I would remind you of at preſent, is to conſider by what means we may render ourſelves of moſt conſequence; and moſt effectually promote the public ſervice; which, I am perſuaded, is the only end we all aim at. What theſe are, I will not preſume to dictate. There are many gentlemen here, more knowing and more capable. Theſe, I doubt not, will go into particulars, and point out a rational plan, in which, I hope, we ſhall all agree and unite.

THE prolocutor having ended, Memmius aroſe; and looking towards the chair, thus; or to this effect expreſſed himſelf:

SIRS;

SIRS; what our worthy prolocutor has been pleaſed to obſerve, deſerves, in my opinion, our moſt deliberate conſideration.

I know very well; I have long known the public virtues of your hearts; and that you have no other ends in view; ſave the intereſt, the preſervation, and true glory of your country: but let us not blaſt the good effects of all theſe virtues, by being wanting in that cardinal one of prudence.

YOU cannot but be convinced from what is paſt; how much greater weight we muſt have had; how much more good we might have done the public, had we been always cautious and unanimous in our conduct. From paſt overſights let us learn wiſdom.

WHAT? ſhall the betrayers, the plunderers, the ſellers of the conſtitution and nation unite in a body, as one man? ſhall ſuch a deteſtable conſpiracy, who have nothing to cement them, but their common guilt, act unanimouſly to diſtreſs and deſtroy a commonwealth: and ſhall not we, who are tied together by a virtuous friendſhip, be equally unanimous in its preſervation? ſhall we unhappily ſplit and divide, to the triumph and ſtrengthening of the enemy? when we have no diſpute about the end, but only about the means of purſuing it.

IT is certain, every gentleman has a right to debate the matter, and to vote, as things appear to his judgment: and in all public councils, it ſeems reaſonable, that the greater number ſhould carry

carry the queſtion: public buſineſs can be diſpatched by no other method.

NEVERTHELESS, let us not reaſon wrong upon this right rule: for if a minority have no motive to byaſs their opinions, but thoſe generous ones, which virtue and truth inſpire; it will, in the ſcale of reaſon, outweigh a majority, where avarice and ambition are concerned in their determinations.

As to my part, I care not, who the man of power is: let him have his levees: let the little great ones bow down to, and worſhip him: let him have the daubings, the flatteries, which are ever inſeparable from power; I envy him not: they are the pageantries of a day: ſtrip him of his office, they all vaniſh at once.

BUT tho' I care not, my fellow citizens, who the man is, yet what he is, is mine, is yours, is the whole nations concern. Let him have genius; let him have a true Britiſh heart; let him be an honeſt man; and then the world ſhall ſee whether we will oppoſe him. It is directly contrary to all profeſſions; it is repugnant to the character of a virtuous and wiſe man, to oppoſe a miniſter, becauſe he is a miniſter. Let him but purſue meaſures, agreeable to the conſtitution of this free nation; to the benefit and honour of his country: and be he old or new, he may be ſecure, I am perſuaded, of all the countenance and aſſiſtance we can give him.

MEMMIUS ſat down, and was ſeconded by Atticus; but his ſpeech was ſhort.

THE unanimity recommended by my honourable friend, needs no illuſtration; it is like a ſelf-evident propoſition: to explain is to darken it: it wants no light, but what it carries within itſelf. There is another thing however, which it may not be improper to juſt mention; and that is perſeverance.

SHOULD your honeſt attempts happen to be repelled in one onſet, be not diſheartened; renew them again, and with recruited vigor: ſhould you be defeated a ſecond time, lay not down the arms you have taken up in the cauſe of liberty and truth; they are the daughters of heaven, and heaven will conſpire with you in defending it's children.

I have lived long in the world, and have ſeen the various ebbs and flows of perſons and things; and you cannot imagine, what even a few, honeſt, diſintereſted men may do; who have nothing in view, but the good of their country, and who are reſolutely determined never to abandon it: but then, they muſt uſe prudence; they muſt watch narrowly the ſeaſons and occaſions, which in the whirl of time will turn up, and conſpire with them. Should you ſucceed; think what an honour it will be hereafter; what a heart-felt joy at preſent, to ſhine in the future annals of this age, as ſo many *patres patriæ*, ſaviours and protectors of your country: and ſhould you not ſucceed, the glory of attempting it will render your names immortal.

ATTICUS having done, there was a general clap, which ſignified the approbation of the whole aſſembly; the noiſe of which was ſo great, that it awaked me.

THUS, Ofellus, I have given you the ſubſtance of my night's viſion; and though it has the regularity and conſiſtency of our waking thoughts, you cannot wonder, if you believe with me, that a divinity inſpired it.

I thank you, Britannicus; had I the felicity of ſuch intereſting and inſtructive dreams, I ſhould never conſider ſleep, as a blank or chaſm in our exiſtence.

D.

No. 11. SATURDAY, *October* 18th, 1755.

For knaves and fools b'ing near of kin,
As Dutch Boors *are t' a* Sooterkin,
Both parties join'd to do their beſt,
To damn the public intereſt;
And herded only in conſults,
To put by one another's bolts.

HUDIBRAS.

THE intereſt every Freeholder has in the ſaving of the public money, makes him watchful over every meaſure, whereby the national treaſure is to be applied. The parliament, in the laſt ſeſſions, ſuſpecting that a naval

val armament would be neceſſary to cover our American Empire from the Encroachments of the French, out of their generous confidence in the throne, voted His Majeſty not only a large ſum for that purpoſe, but likewiſe gave him a vote of credit for the ſum of one million ſterling, in expectation that it ſhould be applied, if needful, for the ſame ſervice. Hoſtilities have been commenced, and very large ſquadrons have been mann'd and fitted out with an alacrity and expedition, not to be equalled in former times. I hope there will be no reaſon to complain of a neglect in the m——y, much leſs of a miſapplication in the payment of thoſe ſums, dedicated by the genius of Britain to the gods of the ſeas. The bare miſapplication of public money is a crime that calls aloud for parliamentary enquiry; though it be certain, that the miniſter acted therein according to the beſt of his judgment for the nation. But ſhould it appear, that the money appropriated to diſtreſs the enemy in the moſt eſſential part; to reduce him to reaſon by ruining his trade by ſea, has been paid for other purpoſes; and that the preſent armament by ſea is thereby left to be provided for by the next ſeſſions, it will be difficult to quit the adviſers of ſuch a miſapplication, from a crime little inferior to that of raiſing money without the power of parliament.

Should a miniſter, in contempt of parliament, adviſe the expending of the national treaſure in the

the payment of penſions, which ſome call ſubſidies, to foreign ſtates, under a pretence of their furniſhing Great Britain with a powerful land army, at a time and in a country, where we have no enemy to fear; ought he not to be removed from the king's councils, and receive a puniſhment adequate to his crime?

SUBSIDIES of all kinds, when miſtimed, and uncapable of doing us any ſervice, muſt be very hurtful to this nation. And therefore it ought not to be once ſurmiſed, that ſuch meaſures will be ſupported in favour of any country or perſon, whom the want of them may affect; ſo long as it is the intereſt of Great Britain, and our King, to confine our defence to a naval war.

NOR are we to believe all reports of extraordinary ſubſidies, I mean, ſubſidies contracted with princes on the continent, when there is no war in view in thoſe quarters; and which can anſwer no purpoſe that is good to Britain. I remember it was charged upon a late miniſter, that he prevailed with the parliament to allow an annual ſubſidy for Heſſian troops, and applied the ſame to very ruinous and deſtructive uſes, ſuch as the corrupting the electors and their repreſentatives in parliament. And it tends greatly to the diſquiet of the people, who, judging by appearances, are apt to be jealous of thoſe councils, which adviſe and conſent to the enlifting, for indeed, that is the true meaning of hiring ſubſidiary forces in time of peace.

However, ſhould it upon enquiry ſo turn out, that we find an attempt has been made to wreſt that ſacred treaſure to buy the friendſhip, alliance, and aid of Ruſſia, Saxony, Bavaria, Heſſe, and Wolfenbuttle; let us with all loyalty and decency expreſs our diſlike thereof. Let us give Cæſar his due; but at the ſame time maintain the rights of a free people.

It is well known, that Britain has no poſſeſſions on the continent of Europe; and that without conſent of parliament ſhe is not to engage in any war in defence of foreign dominions. But to take foreign troops into Britiſh pay, on condition only to cover, or make a diverſion in favour of any dominions on the continent, without the conſent of parliament, carries the appearance of a war within the prohibition of the act of ſettlement: for it is as burdenſome to the people of this nation to pay ſubſidiary armies in time of peace, as if war was proclaimed.

If it be once allowed, that the King has a right to take foreign troops into Britiſh pay; and to draw upon the exchequer for the payment of thoſe ſubſidiary-contracts, there is an end to the power of parliament; who in ſuch a caſe would be obliged to ratify His Majeſty's keeping up a ſtanding army on the continent, without limitation of numbers, and to raiſe money to pay them; or the treaſury muſt diſcharge the royal draughts out of money already appropriated; which is, in my humble opinion, no leſs crimi-

nal

nal than the attempt to raiſe money without parliament. For, he muſt ſplit the hair, who ſhall preſume to ſhew the difference, between transferring the money raiſed for neceſſary uſes, to other purpoſes; and thoſe meaſures condemned in former times, when bad miniſters filled the ſovereign's coffers by indirect means.

It is the privilege of a prince to make war for the honour and defence of the Britiſh crown. But he is reſtrained from raiſing money, and making war, where and when the honour and property of Great Britain is not concerned in the quarrel. And it is incumbent upon a wiſe and free people not to arm the crown with any powers, under the beſt princes, which may be employed by a bad one to the ſubverſion of their liberties and the eſtabliſhment of his own will for law.

Hence we may fairly argue, that if ever the miniſter of a King of Great Britain ſhould be found, either ſo abandoned to the intereſt of his country, and to his duty to the throne as to adviſe, or agree to the miſapplication of public money, and to the taking foreign troops into Britiſh pay without the previous conſent of parliament, he ought either to be removed from the royal preſence, and puniſhed by the guardians of our liberties; or our conſtitution will be in danger of ruin. For whenever a parliament ſhall become ſo corrupt and regardleſs of the intereſt of the people, as to approve of ſuch meaſures,

and protect the evil counſellors from a deſerved cenſure, what muſt become of the balance of power in our government? is not the ratifying ſuch meaſures an acquieſcence in the king's power to raiſe forces, without the conſent of parliament? is it not at leaſt, inveſting him with a powerful ſtanding army? and had this nation a King inclined to take the advantage; what force? what authority could prevent his bringing them into Britain, to ſupport whatever tyranny a corrupt miniſter might adviſe him to uſurp?

WERE it poſſible for a miniſter to ſtain his wiſdom and integrity, in his firſt ſetting out, by eſpouſing the errors of his predeceſſor, and ſupporting the validity of thoſe contracts, what would be the fruits to be expected, or rather dreaded from thoſe bloſſoms? power is generally maintained by the ſame means it is acquired: and if this is to be the price paid for a ſmall ſhare of it; what can be the purchaſe of the remainder, and the conſequences of ſuch a bargain? ſhould the miniſter ſcreen himſelf behind the throne, and plead the honour of the crown for an affair, which as a Briton and a repreſentative of the people he could not defend, there will be no project, though ever ſo extravagant and ruinous, but ſome future miniſter may avail himſelf of the ſame pretence; lug the parliament into his guilt, to ſhare the odium of the nation, and to protect inſtead of puniſhing the miſcreant that dares to impoſe upon

upon Majeſty, by the unconſtitutional plan of raiſing money and forces without conſent of parliament.

BRITONS pay their taxes with alacrity, in hopes that their money ſhall be well applied: crafty inventions may pick their pockets; but nothing can legally open them but a parliament. And as they are likewiſe jealous of their liberties, will they not complain when they hear of ſuch an exertion of the prerogative, as to take a large number of foreigners into Britiſh pay, without the advice or conſent of parliament? For, though it may be alledged, that theſe troops are not to be paid till the parliament votes them; does not ſuch a meaſure ſupercede the parliament's free option? does it not diſcover too great a dependance on the penſionary part? and may it not endanger thoſe, who receive favours from the crown, the loſs of their penſions, ſhould they not vote for the confirming a contract, which they condemn in their hearts?

SHOULD it not be conſidered before ſuch contracts are made, whether we are in need of ſuch auxiliaries? what ſervice they are able to give us? and in what capacity the nation is in to pay them?

THE preſent circumſtances of Britain is a diſpute with France about the limits of certain poſſeſſions belonging to both crowns in North America. Are we in need of Germans or Ruſſians,

ſians to fight our battles on that continent? nothing leſs. Is our naval power to be augmented by all, or any of thoſe ſubſidiary treaties made on the continent? This is too hazardous to affirm. Can they ſtem the power of France or Pruſſia, ſhould the fear of a war on the continent be alledged? what can be expected from an army of different nations and intereſts; and the greateſt part of them harraſſed out by long and dangerous marches? what can be expected from an army of Ruſſians, which after the fatiguing rout of Poland, will be near ſeven hundred miles from the Rhine? and what will the whole force put together be able to do when attacked by double the number of French and Pruſſians on their borders, and within reach of their own fortreſſes?

THIS reminds me of the rare bargain made in 1733, when our polite and well-bred miniſters, to recompenſe the nation for diſobliging the King of Pruſſia, and making him our implacable enemy, bought the alliance of the court of Sweden for three years, at the certain price of only fifty thouſand pounds ſterling *per annum*; prevailed on the Prince of Heſſe to keep in readineſs for our ſervice twelve thouſand men, which did not coſt us much above one million and a half, though it was never in their power to ſerve Great Britain; and had the addreſs to ſecure the guarantee of all His Majeſty's dominions in Great Britain, Ireland and

Germany,

Germany, by the great and powerful Duke of Wolfenbuttle, at twenty-five thouſand pounds *per annum* for four years certain; on condition he kept five thouſand men in Germany. If this ſcheme of contracting for ſubſidies be continued, I doubt not but in ſubſequent treaties, every other little contractor for human fleſh in Germany, as well as the Elector of Saxony, will tell us of his patriot ſentiments, and urge them as the only motive for his condeſcending to accept Britiſh money.

As to the capacity of the nation which is to pay ſubſidies; we need ſay very little. That argument is more felt, than I can poſſibly illuſtrate it. Our debts: our innumerable taxes: the neceſſity of providing for the ſecurity of our plantations, and our trade: and to prepare at all events for a ſea-war, inform us, that our miniſtry will have enough to do, to find ways and means for the expediences of the year; and that it is no time to hunt a war upon the continent; and to throw away our money in the hire of foreign troops, which can do us no ſervice.

THE taking of ſuch troops into Britiſh pay, without the advice and conſent of parliament, is enough to awaken and alarm every honeſt Briton. And a miniſter that could be bold enough to adviſe ſuch a meaſure, may be ſuſpected to be wicked enough to adviſe their importation. But let them be where they will, they

they ſuck the blood and vitals of this kingdom; and as they drain us, they muſt neceſſarily deprive us of that power of reſiſtance, which every Engliſhman is intitled to, whenever his property ſhall happen to be invaded. P.

No. 12. SATURDAY, *October* 26, 1755.

Et penitùs totos diviſos orbe Britannos.
VIRG.

THOUGH I won't pretend to ſay, that Virgil wrote this in a political ſenſe, or that it may not be applicable to other iſlands; yet there muſt be allowed an emphaſis in the conceit, that ſhows he intended it for an encomium, as did alſo Mr. Waller, in the following lines:

'Tis not ſo hard for greedy foes to ſpoil
Another nation, as to touch OUR *ſoil.*

A nation ſeparated as Britain, from all the world, is formed by nature ſo, as neither to ſtand in need of foreign aid to fight its battles, nor to dread a foreign invaſion. The acceſs to the Britiſh ſhore is ſo difficult, that the very poet compares it to a departure from the world. And before the Aborigines of this iſland could be ſuppoſed expert in naval affairs, the

the greateſt men of Rome gloried in every little advantage gained over the uncultivated Britons. Cæſar, who only peep'd into Britain, and was driven off with conſiderable loſs, acquired more praiſe by the diſcovery, than by all the battles he had won in Gaul.

FROM that time the ſenate and emperors of that people, who for many ages gave law to all the world, reſolved upon the conqueſt of this iſland, to plant their laurels beyond the limits of the earth. Its conqueſt was decreed in the ſenate, and the legions were appointed to reduce it into a Roman province. Yet the Britons, in their native ſtate, reſiſted the greateſt power on the continent, and baffled the moſt political enemy for more than three hundred years: and at laſt may be ſaid, rather to have ſubmitted voluntarily to Conſtantine the Great, as their native prince, than to have been overcome.

WHAT did Cæſar in his two invaſions? It does not appear that he conquered one county. The Britons diſputed every inch of ground with the legions; and more of their princes accepted of his friendſhip, through fear, envy, or ambition, than were reduced by force. Had the petty kings near the coaſt exerted their ſtrength; had they not retained ſome inward grudge againſt, or by joining a foreign power propoſed their advancement over, their neighbouring ſovereigns, it would never have been ſaid by Horace:

Divus

Divus habebitur Auguſtus,
Adjectis Britannis imperio.

THE memory of Caſaubeline, Boadicia, and Carauſius, without mentioning a croud of other ancient Britiſh worthies, ſhould convince us, that Britain was rather the grave than the conqueſt of the Romans. No leſs than twenty emperors attacked this nation in their own perſons, that they might glory in the title, Britannicus; but they never gained one deciſive battle; though the Britons neither kept up a numerous army to prey upon their own bowels, in the time of peace; nor conſumed the public money, by ſeeking a hazardous, or at leaſt, a fruitleſs aid from the continent. Their ſtrength and ſafety conſiſted, as it ſtill continues, in the cement of ſelf-preſervation, backed with the difficulty their enemies laboured under before they could land; and then to ſecure a retreat (from a country, which nature has detached from all the world) in caſe of need.

SHOULD the Saxons and Danes be ſaid to have effected what the Romans could not. It is granted. But what circumſtances concurred to favour theſe adventurers in their invaſion of the Britiſh throne? were not the people of the iſland changed? had not the Romans imported their vices? corrupted them with luxury? and left them diſarmed both by ſea and land? and, what was worſt of all, Vortigern their ſovereign, raiſed to the throne, by the election of the people, in preferance to Ambroſius, being naturally prone

to

to fear his friends more than his enemies, called over an army of Saxon auxiliaries to ſupport his encroachments upon the liberties of his ſubjects. No doubt, but that impolitic tyrant coloured his ſubſidiary contract with Saxony, under the ſpecious pretence of the neceſſity of the times, and his great care for preſerving the nation from ſome hoſtile invaſion or inſurrection. The motions of the Picts, and the diſſatisfaction of his ſubjects, furniſhed him with plauſible reaſons for this meaſure, which ended in his own ruin and the nation's deſtruction. Did not the nakedneſs of the land, and the weakneſs of the King give the Saxons, in Britiſh pay, an opportunity to uſurp the dominion? Thus fell Britain under the yoke of the Saxon auxiliaries, as the eaſtern empire fell a prey to the Saracens, whom the Greek emperor had hired to fight his battles. Many are the examples of ſtates and potentates, who dated their ruin from a neglect of thoſe means, which providence had allotted for their peculiar defence; and truſting in that ſtaff of foreign aid, which has always run into the hands of thoſe who lean'd thereon. I hope never to ſee the time when Britain ſhall again truſt to an army deſcended from that perfidious race. They may condeſcend to take our money, but ſhould never be admitted to any truſt and confidence. And ſhould they or any ſuch ſubſidiary troops be called into the bowels of our iſland, who can anſwer for their behaviour? may not a like opportunity produce a ſimilar effect? Our liberties

are

are too valuable to be entruſted to ſuch a precarious guard.

THE Danes cannot be accuſed of the ſame perfidy. But all circumſtances conſidered, it is more to be admired, that thoſe rovers did not ſecure a better eſtabliſhment in England. They were poſſeſſed of a great power by ſea; even to the number of a thouſand ſhips and upwards; and found England without a navy, and enervated by the ſeparate intereſts of many petty princes.

HOWEVER, what ſtruggles and bloodſhed did both theſe invaders meet with before they conquered? it was near three hundred years before the Saxons could obtain the abſolute ſovereignty of this iſland: and why, becauſe they neglected the marine, and reſted their only ſtrength on a land army; and the Danes, by the ſame unpardonable piece of policy, loſt the crown in leſs than half a century.

IT will little avail to produce William the Norman, to ſhew, that England is to be eaſily conquered by an invader. For, at the ſame time, it muſt not be forgot, that he, by ſetting up a title to the crown, under the countenance of the Confeſſor's will, was aſſured of many friends on the iſland; and that he fought againſt one, who had uſurped the throne, who fell in battle, and left him in poſſeſſion of the whole power of the realm; and almoſt without a competitor.

SHOULD

SHOULD we trace the attempts of latter ages: what does hiſtory relate of thoſe many and bloody invaſions from Scotland? which never could ſucceed farther, than in the plunder and burning of a few towns on the borders; or in the murder of the innocent and defenceleſs.

THE ſucceſs of the French King againſt King John is foreign to our argument. The rebellious barons were in poſſeſſion of all the ſtrong holds of the kingdom; they invited him over; they received him upon their lands; the whole nation were terrified with the Pope's interdict, and thereby ſuperſtitiouſly deterred from taking arms in defence of their ſovereign. But even then the Gallic power could not maintain the uſurpation: ſcarce a Frenchman eſcaped the ſword; and the undeceived Britons purſued their revenge to the conqueſt of the crown of France.

THE memorable years 88, in two ſucceeding centuries, furniſh us with examples of the difficulty, which deters our moſt powerful and inveterate enemies from waſting their treaſure and riſking their ſhips and men againſt a country, that is ſeparated by nature from the reſt of the world. The Spaniards, in 1588, loſt the fineſt fleet that ever before plowed the ocean. The flower of their nobility were cut off, and an incredible quantity of warlike ſtores that had employed all Spain, Italy, and Flanders for ſeveral years to collect together, were entirely deſtroyed by attempting to conquer this little iſland.

COULD there be a worſe proſpect for England? and at a time when the King of Spain was endeavouring, by aſſurances of peace, to ſurprize the nation, unarmed and unprovided againſt a foreign enemy. This invincible Armada had been the work of four years, and was commanded by the beſt veteran officers that could be picked out of Naples, Sicily, Lombardy, Flanders, Germany, Spain, and the Indies. It even ſailed from Liſbon, and was deſcried at the chops of the channel, before its perfidious intention was diſcovered.

WHAT did Elizabeth in theſe circumſtances? did ſhe ſeek for aid in foreign troops? did ſhe bargain for an army of Ruſſians to march into Flanders; or of Saxons, Heſſians, or of any foreign ſtate to make a diverſion on the continent, or to paſs over into England? was it not better policy in that Queen to take example at the misfortunes of her predeceſſors, who had called in foreign aid? it was all one to her Britiſh ſpirit by whom her ſubjects ſhould fall; by an army of Spaniards, her enemies, or by an army of foreigners paid with Engliſh money. Her councils conſulted the natural ſtrength of the nation, and the propereſt means of defence, both by ſea and land. The fleet was judged the chief ſupport; and one of ninety ſail was fitted out with all neceſſaries within fifty days. Her own ſubjects, whoſe affections ſhe had ſecured, by placing her confidence in them alone, and whoſe liberty and property were at ſtake, were the beſt ſol-

diers

diers ſhe could raiſe. She was not afraid of putting arms into hands that had fought for her, themſelves, and their country, and were content to be diſbanded, as ſoon as the danger was blown over. What muſt become of England in ſuch circumſtances, had it been thus ſurprized under an adminiſtration whoſe councils would have diſarmed the ſubjects; loaded them with taxes to maintain ſubſidiary armies; and confirmed the appointments for the navy in the quixotiſm of an army, in a country where Britain had nothing to riſk? what could be more worthy of imitation than the expedition, appointments and oeconomy in this criſis, when England was in the greateſt danger of being cruſhed under a foreign invaſion? a navy was got fit for action in fifty days: twenty-thouſand men were thought a ſufficient ſtrength to diſpute with the enemy on the ſhore, if any ſhould eſcape the fleet; and both were paid off when the ſervice was performed. It is true; no age can vie with the expedition ſhewn in our preſent naval armaments: but is the money appropriated to ſupport the fleet religiouſly applied? is the fleet properly ſtationed to diſtreſs the enemy and to guard our coaſts? are the ſubjects properly armed? is not our liberty? is not our property? is not our religion? is not our King left in the power of a mercenary army? has the money that ſhould be applied to guard our coaſts been given to a few German princes to keep up a ſtanding army in Britiſh pay? are thoſe contracts

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temporary, ſo as to be annulled when they become burdenſome to England; or when their ſervice is not required? are they to be kept in pay for ſeveral years, whether they are wanted or not? is it ever in their power to defend England from an invaſion? what jealouſy? what heart-burning? what quarrels have not enſued, when our national troops have been obliged to join thoſe ſubſidiaries: and when the ill-judged policy of a late miniſtry brought them into England? I appeal to the behaviour of the Swiſs that were driven out of Newcaſtle in the year 1715, and to the mock campaign made by the Dutch in 1745; when after the extraordinary charge of tranſportation, &c. they were under ſuch engagements to France, as tied their hands from acting in our cauſe, when they received the pay, and eat the bread of Britain.

THE year 1688, you'll ſay, when the Prince of Orange landed in the weſt, is a proof that England may be invaded. Yes: but to what ſhall we charge the ſucceſs of that invaſion? was that Prince to be conſidered in the light of a French King, whoſe intereſt is our ruin? was he not invited to protect our liberties and to preſerve our religion? this was the act, not of a foe, but of a people jealous of their ſovereign; of a people whom the King had diſarmed; and threatened to keep in ſubjection by an Iriſh army, and a foreign aid: which cannot be the caſe under a family eſtabliſhed on the throne by the wiſdom and intereſt of that very prince,

to

to whom our preſent conſtitution is ſo much indebted. And even then, his ſmall force of fourteen thouſand men could not be levied, nor tranſported without much noiſe, and the aſſiſtance of almoſt ſix hundred ſhips: both which, and the aid of the diſaffected nobility would have failed in the enterprize, had not the mercenary army, raiſed to overawe the people, gone over to the Prince, and the fleet diſobeyed the royal commands. The ſubſequent behaviour of many concerned in the invitation of their deliverer from arbitrary power, ſhews, that they were not contented with the alterations which enſued; and that the King, had he kept his ground, and given ſecurity to govern according to law, would not have been driven from the throne. The nation was then ſo jealous of a foreign force in the King's hand, that they obliged King William to ſend back thoſe very ſoldiers he brought with him, and would not ſuffer him, though a foreigner, to keep a Dutch guard about his perſon.

WHY then ſhould Britons, under the preſent government, be ſo often terrified by the reports of an invaſion? Is not Britain as much divided from the continent as in the days of Cæſar? muſt not our enemies invade us by ſea? are we leſs able to diſpute our liberty and property than the ancient Britons? is there any power upon earth ſo ſuperior to the preſent ſtate of Britain, as the Romans were to the Druids? did they tamely ſubmit to the Roman yoke, or place their ſtrength in foreign ſubſidies? did not they loſe

their liberty, their laws, and their country, when they called in the Saxons to their aſſiſtance? did not the Saxons ſettle themſelves in Britain by their naval power? were they not forced to yield to the Danes, by neglecting to keep up and to exert thoſe means, by which they originally obtained the dominion of England? could the Norman have ſucceeded to the throne of Edward the Confeſſor, had the kingdom been free from diſtractions, and governed by a lawful king? what power upon earth could have been hired to fight our battles, to guard our coaſts, and to repel the force of Philip's invincible Armada, had not the wiſe Elizabeth placed her confidence in her ſubjects? and the Prince of Orange was too politic ever to have attempted an invaſion of this iſland, without a previous aſſurance of a friendly reception, and a favourable retreat.

THEREFORE, whatever may be the report concerning a French invaſion, ſo long as we have a navy ſuperior to our enemies; while we reject the aid of foreign troops; while we vigorouſly exert our naval power, by ruining their navigation and trade, blocking up their harbours, and maintaining the dominion of the ſeas in the full extent, derived from the earlieſt account of time; while we are governed by law, our liberties remain untouched, our property and religion are ſecured; and we ſhall be entruſted to fight our own battles in defence of thoſe valuable privileges; we need be under no apprehenſions

ſions for their ſucceſs: nor, can it enter into the mind of any Briton, who has not a turn to ſerve by terrifying the thoughtleſs people, that the French miniſtry can ever ſeriouſly reſolve upon any ſuch ſcheme. Becauſe without ſome ſuch opportunity, as favoured former invaſions, there can be no proſpect of doing us any injury: and even then it would be very difficult to ſhew the advantage ſuch a war would produce; or how it would be ſupported, when the ſupplies depend upon the winds and the ſeas. For it cannot be granted, that the bare ſight of a French army would be ſufficient to conquer a nation, whoſe walls are the ſeas, whoſe ſtrength is in their ſhipping, and whoſe freedom is the price of their blood.

HAD it been the intereſt of France to reduce Britain into a province of that crown, there have been many better opportunities: they would not have put it off till this age of ſecurity, when the crown is guarded by loyalty, and the nation with wiſdom, riches, and a ſtrength ſuperior to former times. A Mazarine would not have loſt the advantage of the civil wars: nor a Colbert neglected the ſuperiority of a Gallic navy, at the battle of La Hogue. It was then, as at this time, the policy of France not to conquer Britain, but by fomenting factions, and rebellions, to waſte the riches of this nation, whoſe flouriſhing trade might otherwiſe inſpire us with ambitious ſchemes of giving laws to our neighbours. And I am fully perſuaded, nothing can encourage

ſuch an undertaking ſo much as to find that our ſtrength is to conſiſt in hireling forces, that are always ready to ſerve them that ſhall pay them beſt.

BUT, at all events, it is good policy to obviate every appearance of ſuch a project. And to do this, we cannot follow better advice than was given in Queen Elizabeth's time, to exert our naval force, to regulate the militia, to teach our youth the exerciſe of arms, to keep our money at home, to hire no foreigners, to puniſh all diſſention and vain-glorious emulation amongſt officers, whereby the public weal receives loſs; and to ſuppreſs the luxury and prodigality of the wealthy; and the exceſs, drunkenneſs, and intemperance of the poor. P.

No. 13, SATURDAY, *November* 1ſt, 1755.

Non tali auxilio nec defenſoribus iſtis
Tempus eget.——

VIRG.

To the FREEHOLDER.

SIR,

HOW natural is it for men who have the ſame intereſts at heart to concur in opinion? I am a Freeholder as well as you, and entirely approve of your principles and plan. I wiſh

wiſh I was nearer to you, that I might ſometimes enjoy a little of your converſation. But I live in the country; I cannot ſay entirely by choice; for I own I ſhould be glad to viſit London once a year to rub off the ruſt a little; to inform myſelf of the progreſs of arts and ſciences, and the public ſtate of the nation. But the load of taxes we groan under is ſo heavy, and for that reaſon the price of all the neceſſaries of life is ſo exceſſive, that I cannot think of indulging myſelf in that pleaſure: happy, if by my utmoſt care and labour I can procure the plaineſt food and raiment for my family! Time has been when I could afford to ſpend two or three months in town, now and then get into the gallery of a certain houſe; I do not mean either of the play-houſes; and there delight myſelf with attending to the generous, but unequal ſtruggle between private virtue and public corruption; ſpreading ſtill wide and more wide amongſt us. How often have I heard ſenſe, reaſon, argument and truth poured forth with all the majeſty of an angel-tongued eloquence, in vain upon men, who were no more impreſſed by it, who felt it no more than the water whipped by Xerxes! Now I muſt content myſelf with what information, I can get from others; for ſtill I am ſolicitous, ſtill I enquire how long virtue is like to linger, before ſhe leave us; and if what I hear be true, ſhe has already, or is ſoon to take her flight for ever; an epidemic madneſs, or, what I fear much

much more, venal profligacy may uſurp her ſeat and poſſeſs the land.

I hear the moſt extravagant news — and, but that I reſpect my authors, ſhould treat it with the contempt it deſerves. I hear, Mr. Freeholder! that we are going to hire Germany and Ruſſia to fight our quarrel with France. Amazing! can this be true? ſhall we, who are very well able to fight our own battles, and are by the providence of God, our natural ſituation, and our own induſtry, more than a match for our enemies, and may be more than conquerors: ſhall we neglect our own ſtrength, refuſe to put forth our natural power, which cannot fail us, and chuſe to expoſe our weakneſs by truſting to broken reeds, a few impotent hirelings, whoſe courage and virtue depend upon three-pence a day? what greater ſecurity can be repoſed in theſe than Edward the Firſt found in the treacherous German auxiliaries, who left him in the field of battle to the mercy of the French?

You will ſay perhaps, that I am a plain man, and that this is a myſtery of ſtate above my capacity: Perhaps it may be ſo: but I muſt tell you, Mr. Freeholder, that whenever there is any refinement in government, which common ſenſe cannot underſtand, there is certainly knavery at the bottom: the intereſt of this country is ſo plain and obvious, that honeſty can never miſtake it, we want no extraordinary talents to feel our own ſtrength, or know our own good. By ſea we are an over match for France and all the

the maritime powers in Europe: we may thereby humble the grand Monarch, and make him ſubmit to an equitable peace; but on the continent France muſt beggar us, and reduce us to the neceſſity of imploring peace, or of accepting ſuch a one as ſhe pleaſes to grant. Every war carried on by Britain on the continent tends to her impoveriſhment.

To aſſemble an army at this time upon the continent is contrary to all general maxims of policy; becauſe no people ſhould enter into a war without ſome advantageous end in view: without a probability of that end's being attainable, and worthy the hazards that are to be run, and the expences that muſt be incurred to come at it. It is equally as repugnant to all general maxims of policy, for a nation officiouſly to draw itſelf into a war in defence of foreign ſtates, when it is hardly able to ſupport the expence of thoſe preparations, which are neceſſary to ſecure its own liberty, property, and commerce. And as to particular maxims of policy, which ought to operate in the councils of this nation, ſelf-defence and the honour of treaties are the only reaſons that ought to engage us in a war: but as a war on the continent cannot be countenanced by either of theſe reaſons; it is impoſſible for the adm——n to plead the neceſſity of taking foreign land-forces into pay, or to ſhew the expediency or utility of ſuch a meaſure. It has been hinted, that their intention is to ſupport the Houſe of Auſtria, and to humble France;

Popular

Popular airs! but no better than mere pretences, vain words and empty ſounds. A war in Flanders is capable of doing much damage to the dominions of the Houſe of Auſtria, but can by no means ſupport it, nor injure France.

WHAT will poſterity think of the wiſdom of thoſe times, ſhould it be recorded, that in exchange for millions, annually levied and ſquandered away, we have nothing to produce but annual volumes of unmeaning treaties?

I think therefore it is as natural for Britain to truſt in her fleets, as a bull in his horns, or a lion in his paws. No, no: let our managers intend but the good of their country, and I will anſwer for it, all the Freeholders in the kingdom will not only underſtand, but aſſiſt and ſupport them with their lives and fortunes. But I hope they will never be ſuch ideots as to place implicit faith in any man, or ſet of men, who ſhall be impudent enough to require them to believe againſt the evidence of their ſenſes, and attempt to perſuade them, that their deſtruction is their intereſt, that the moſt ruinous is the beſt way of carrying on the war, and that it is better to ſpend four millions at land among foreigners, than two millions at ſea among our own people.

THIS is the ſimple truth, the real ſtate of the caſe, however it may be gloſſed over by men, whoſe buſineſs it may be to diſguiſe and conceal it. And therefore I cannot believe that my information is true; I hope better things

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from the guardians of our wealth, glory, and liberties, than to ſuppoſe they are entering into any ſuch ſhameful agreements with foreign princes, whoſe aſſiſtance we do not want; and who cannot aſſiſt us, if we did.

A meaſure contrary to common prudence, conſidering our circumſtances at preſent; —— contrary to the general rules of policy, conſidering us as an iſland; —contrary to our intereſt, conſidered as a maritime power; — contrary to our intereſt, conſidered as a trading nation; — contrary to our intereſt, conſidered as a nation deeply indebted; — and may be deſtructive to the liberties of a free people.

But ſays our tax-gatherer, with whom I happened to be in company the other day; when your quarrel brings war upon your friends and allies, will you not aſſiſt them? moſt certainly, Sir! I would aſſiſt them: and aſſiſtance is all they have any pretence to expect; and ſuch aſſiſtance only as we can afford without hurting ourſelves. Between man and man the tie of friendſhip is broke by him, who deſires more than this; becauſe the force of nature can go no farther; and between nation and nation, where it would be ridiculous to ſuppoſe any other friendſhip than what is founded on mutual intereſt; ſhall we expect one to ruin itſelf for the other? if ruin muſt come, we uſed to flatter ourſelves, that from our ſituation and other advantages, we were to be the laſt to be undone: yet according to this ſyſtem, Britons muſt

muſt inevitably be the firſt. But we love and honour our King, and ſhall we ſuffer his native country to be inſulted or ravaged? by no means: let us revenge the bare attempt upon all who dare aim at it, by exerting our full force upon them. And ſurely God and nature have given us power to do this effectually, if our own induſtry and virtue fail not; if we did but know and cultivate and truſt in our ſtrength and our infinite reſources.

THE ſea is our acknowledged element for intereſt, ſtrength, and glory: and if there is an apparent neceſſity to attack France, we muſt do it by ſea: ruin her navigation, which will ſtop her trade and the ſources of her finances, without which ſhe will not be able to keep up an army by land. To neglect this, and to dare the French on the continent, is a contempt of the experience of paſt times, and the common ſenſe of the preſent: it is taking the bull by the horns, attacking the enemy in his full ſtrength, when we have it in our power to knock out his brains.

I am confident, that if France and England were to wage a ſea-war only, but for two or three years, France would be ſo totally ſtript of all reſources, that it could not be in her power to invade the weakeſt of her neighbours. Thus ſhall all the princes of Germany be ſecured for ever, while we cut off the root of all the wealth and power of France, and, like well

exer-

exerciſed limbs, grow ſtronger by exerting our natural ſtrength againſt her.

LET the republic German Princes, for they are but one people, unite for their common ſafety! They will certainly do ſo, if we do not moſt officiouſly and ridiculouſly take off their attention to their greateſt intereſt, by throwing boons amongſt them to ſcramble for, which like boys they will run after and neglect their buſineſs; a little preſent profit or pleaſure ſeduces all, whether boys or princes. And ſhall we be ſenſeleſs enough to maintain and ſupport them in idleneſs, like a young ſpendthrift, who having married a beauty from a neceſſitous family, blinded by his paſſion he ſees not half the ruin that lies before him, and is undone by feeding her hungry relations. I ſay let them unite for their mutual defence: unite they muſt and will if we do not help to divide them by our miſerable puſillanimous politics. United are they not an over-match for France; yet ſurely they could ſtand long enough to give her time to undo herſelf, as ſhe did in the laſt war by her victories. Nay the Queen of Hungary could ſtand alone againſt France. Did ſhe not ſtand alone, not only againſt France, but the greateſt part of Germany too, and abſolutely deſtroy two of the beſt armies that France ever ſent into that country? But when we very fooliſhly took the war out of her hands, ſhe very prudently ſuffered us to do it, and employed the very money we gave her for other purpoſes,

(very

(very much at her eaſe and leiſure) in building and beautifying palaces and gardens. My little reading and information have furniſhed me with ſufficient authorities to prove this, if it were neceſſary to prove what is ſo evident. The conſequence of this meaſure was what might naturally have been expected, like men meddling in affairs that did not concern them, and which they did not underſtand, we managed wretchedly; and the war that throve in her hands became ruinous in ours; and diſappointments, [redacted] feats made up the ſum total of each camp[redacted] till there was no longer any ground left to fight upon, on the other ſide of the water, or ſcarce any thing untaxed on this to raiſe money. A debt of thirty millions added to fifty has remained to make us wiſer for the future, one might imagine; but I am afraid that we are going on head-long as before, to ruſh down the precipice, in ſpite of woeful experience, with our eyes wide open in broad day-light; knowing, ſeeing, and feeling the ruin that lies before us. C.

I am, SIR,

Your humble Servant,

AGRICOLA:

No. 14. SATURDAY, *November* 8th, 1755.

Territa quæſitis oſtendit terga Britannis.

JUVENAL.

THE Romans who deified Cæſar for his diſcovery of Britain, have left us another ſubſtantial reaſon for our ſecurity againſt invaſions, beſides its being ſeparated from the continent by a diſmal gulf:

Qui geminos interluit orbes.

THIS might have been an exceſs of ſurprize on the people, or flattery to their general. But after long experience of their courage and fidelity, theſe lords of the univerſe, whoſe power and pride could diſcern no perfection in other people, were forced to acknowledge the Britons were invincible. The ſtanding guard of the Prefect of Rome were *Invicti juniores Britannitiani:* and the life guard of the Proconſul of Spain were ſtiled *Invicti juniores Britones.*

THEIR fidelity, as well as courage was ſo approved, that both the Greek and Weſtern Emperors placed their lives in the power of Britiſh guards: and there was ſcarce a governor of a province that did not follow their example. To which they were all induced by

the reputation of the Britiſh valour both at home and abroad. The very ſight of a Briton was like the eye of a Baſiliſk: it conveyed terror to the heart of the enemy, and conquered before they came to blows. They were never vanquiſhed, when they truſted to their national ſtrength; never forfeited their honour nor ſtained their courage with cowardice, when engaged in the cauſe of their friends; and, if we trace from the earlieſt account of time to theſe days, they never ſucceeded in any war, but have been frequently betrayed, when the iſſue has depended on the ſtrength and fidelity of ſubſidiary forces.

THIS brave and bold ſpirit of Britons, I hope, is not extinguiſhed. A people, who in their infant ſtate, did not only ſtand alone, but defended and conquered foreign nations. Their courage was invincible; their faith inviolable. In their weakeſt ſtate they cut off two hundred thouſand Saxons, at a moderate computation. And ſhould we rehearſe their wars after the Norman eſtabliſhment, who can imagine that a people, who have been improving ever ſince, both in riches and inhabitants, and conquered France without the doubtful aid of German ſubſidiaries, are ſo degenerate and debaſed with puſillanimity and diſaffection, as not to be able, or not to be truſted with the defence of their King and country againſt all invaders?

IT is upon the bravery, not of a mercenary army, but, of the ſubjects in general, ſtimulated by

by the glorious atchievements of their anceſtors, and animated with the neceſſity of defending all that is dear to them: it is upon the natural courage of Britons, and their affections for the Prince upon the throne, when he governs them according to the conſtitution and laws of the realm, that we are principally to depend for the protection and ſafety of our country. By truſting to this we have continued for many years a happy and a free people: and I could ſhew from hiſtory, that if ever we put our truſt in any thing elſe, our happineſs and our liberty muſt yield to miſery and ſlavery. We have always been loſers upon the ballance of a war, though ever ſo ſucceſsful in the field, when carried on by ſubſidiary forces.

WHAT has the Britiſh Empire got by the vaſt ſums of money paid in ſubſidies to the Dutch, Saxons, Bavarians, Heſſians, Hanoverians, Danes, Ruſſians, Pruſſians, Hungarians, the King of Sardinia, the Duke of Wolfenbuttle, &c. all of whom are, or have been in Britiſh pay within ſixty years paſt? have they enabled us to humble our enemies? No. Have they ſecured for us a firm, laſting, and equitable peace? No. Have we by their aid ſtruck ſuch terror into our enemies, that they dare not invade our property, plot againſt our liberty, or interrupt our trade? No. Have we recovered the ballance of Europe, or put our allies out of the power of the common enemy? No. Have we maintain-

ed that reputation for which our anceſtors were always renowned in war? I wiſh it could be anſwered in the affirmative.

WHAT then has been done by thoſe numerous and expenſive ſubſidiaries? they marched and counter-marched thro' Germany, thro' Flanders, upon the Rhine, the Maes, the Danube; and I think once our ſubſidiary auxiliaries penetrated to the walls of Toulon, which muſt have ſurrendered had they vigorouſly ſeconded the efforts of the Britiſh fleet. One war got us the treaty of Reſwick; another, the treaty of Utrecht; a third, the treaty of Aix la Chapelle, without either principal, intereſt, coſts, or damages; but a debt, which if not timely prevented, muſt reduce us to beggary and contempt.

Is not ſuch a roll of debts? is not ſuch a chain of fruitleſs campaigns? the accumulated loſſes of public treaſure, national reputation, and of Britiſh blood, enough to perſuade us to caſt off that ruinous policy of truſting the honour and conſtitution of this nation, to the courage and fidelity of foreign aid? we have no enemy that has not fled before the Britiſh arms. And we can hire no forces that will not deceive us: or which are not bound by the common ties of intereſt to exert their whole ſtrength for ſelf-preſervation without a bribe.

BUT it has always been a ſort of infatuation, when the King of England held any favourite country independant of his crown, to engage a

foreign army to cover it from ſurprize. This was the foundation of all the troubles between the ſovereign and the ſubject, when the patrimonial eſtates of the Plantagenets were continually draining the Exchequer, and driving the miniſtry upon oppreſſive meaſures, to raiſe money to pay large ſubſidiary armies. And to prevent the like for the future, it was wiſely provided in the act of ſettlement, That no war (either by Britiſh troops, or forces in Britiſh pay) ſhall be undertaken in defence of any country not ſubject to Great Britain, without conſent of parliament: a proviſo, founded on the ſtrongeſt reaſon. No nation can be eaſy under the continual demands for money to defend a people that are ſubject to other laws, and ſwayed by another intereſt:

Felix quem faciunt aliena pericula cautum.

WHAT gave the people ſo mean an opinion of their King, and emboldened the diſaffected lords to threaten the crown of Henry III. ſo much, as the loſs he ſuſtained, and the diſgrace he drew upon himſelf, by playing the knight-errand a whole ſummer on the continent, with a large foreign army paid out of the eſtates and induſtry of his Engliſh ſubjects? by this he loſt his credit abroad, and the confidence of his own people; who from that time were very cautious how they truſted him with their property or their liberties: and his neglect of the marine,

whoſe appointments he conſumed upon his ſubſidiary troops, loſt him the affections of the mariners; the want of whoſe aid he woefully experienced, when his mercenary hirelings left him to the mercy of his enemies.

EDWARD II. who did not want perſonal courage, loſt the greateſt victory the Scots ever won, and the future help of his nobility, by the cowardice of an army of foreigners. And the worſt ſtep taken by his ſon Edward III. after his minority, was the engaging, by large ſums of money, the moſt powerful German princes to aſſiſt him in the recovery of his patrimonial eſtates on the continent. For, they either dropped him in the time of action, or were ſo long in their march, that he was obliged to ſubmit to an inglorious truce: a fault in politics which he ever after avoided, and which convinced him, that in all foreign ſubſidies, a Britiſh Monarch is no farther concerned than for the ſake of his treaſure. This muſt be paid by his ſubjects, let the event be ever ſo hurtful to the nation.

How different was that glorious expedition, when he, truſting to his navy and thirty-two thouſand of his own ſubjects, marched up to the walls of Paris, braved the enemy in his capital, routed one hundred and ſixty-thouſand French and their Allies, and forced Calais, the key of their nation, to ſurrender at diſcretion? And ten thouſand of theſe invincible Britons routed the whole power of France at Agincourt and Poictou, and carried her captive King and

the flower of her nobility to decorate their triumphant entry into the city of London.

GLORY and ſucceſs crowned every campaign, when theſe princes reſted on the courage and fidelity of their own ſubjects: diſgrace in the field, and diſcontent at home, were the certain effects of truſting to the ſtrength and fair promiſes of ſubſidiary forces. Shall a nation that has been thus impoveriſhed, diſgraced and brought to the brink of ruin by purchaſing foreign alliances, run headlong into the ſame meaſures? did not the people in thoſe times depend upon their repreſentatives for relief againſt the intollerable load of taxes, and other oppreſſions made uſe of by the miniſtry to pay thoſe inglorious Germans? did not they always pleaſe themſelves with the expectation of finding a ſure redreſs from their repreſentatives aſſembled in parliament? neither did they fail in their expectation. What could they have thought of a parliament, that from year to year would have agreed to the continuance of ſubſidiary contracts, when Britain had nothing to fear on the continent; and every thing that a Briton eats, drinks, or wears, muſt be taxed towards the maintenance of a people, whoſe faith is not to be depended on, and, who were never remarkable for their hireling courage? I am afraid they would have ſoon loſt the people's confidence and affections; who would have looked upon them not as their repreſentatives or guardians of

their liberties, but as the inſignificant tools of a court, and the hireling ſupporters of an adminiſtration.

CAN it be thought that a nation, which was ſo ſucceſsful and glorious, and always a terror to France, when it depended on its own ſtrength, ſhould now be obliged to ſeek foreign aid to ſupport us againſt ſo inconſiderable an enemy; eſpecially when we have a fleet that maintains the dominion of the ſea, and no land on the continent to defend?

WHERE is there a nation or people of any conſideration, that have not experienced the good effects of our aid; or ſome fatal overthrow by the Britiſh arms? it was the Engliſh bravery that made the high and mighty States of Holland a free people. It was the ſame power that forced the French Monarch to grant the edict of Nantz to his Proteſtant ſubjects. How often have the vaſt dominions of Spain trembled at the ſight; I may ſay, at the name only of a Briton? and ſhall it be recorded to poſterity, that there was a generation deſcended from that race of warriors and champions, that either would not, or could not be truſted to fight their own battles? or that there was a time when the people were diſarmed; their lives and fortunes, their King and country, their religion and their laws were committed to the care of a ſtanding army at home; and their intereſt on the continent ſupported by an army of people deſcended from

thoſe

thoſe perfidious auxiliaries, that took the pay, and deſerted the ſervice of our former Kings?

SHOULD it be urged in favour of ſuch meaſures, that have always been hurtful to Britain, that the ſpirit of the nation is not to be truſted: that an army of mercenaries is neceſſary to curb the diſaffected: and that the ballance of power in Europe cannot be kept up without a conſiderable army of auxiliaries on the continent in Britiſh pay. Let me tell you, theſe arguments are mere pretences.

ALL attempts againſt any country either by invaſions or inſurrections muſt riſe from a government's purſuing bad meaſures: by which diſcontent and diſaffection are ſowed among the people: and where an enemy cannot depend on the powerful aſſiſtance of a diſſatisfied people, there can be no fear of an invaſion. And I dare vouch for the loyalty of my countrymen ſo far, that if the miniſtry would not terrify them with a ſtanding army, daily augmenting within their bowels; nor with an army of auxiliaries living upon the vitals of Britain, at a vaſt expence from year to year; the civil officer would be able to lock up every diſaffected perſon in the kingdom. But who can anſwer for the behaviour of a people, who are naturally brave and true to their King and country, and provoked by a miniſtry that ſhall miſrepreſent them to their Sovereign, and empeach their fidelity by taking away their arms, and load them with taxes and other oppreſſions, which always

always are, and always muſt be the conſequences of ſtanding ſubſidiary armies! Britons are naturally jealous of their liberties: and as the continuation of a ſtanding army from year to year has, before now, made them deſpair of preſerving thoſe liberties by any peaceable method; may not the ſame cauſe produce the ſame effect? And though that very army in which King James II. put his confidence, joined in the diſaffection, and thereby prevented the loſs of our liberties; we cannot always depend upon ſuch a diſpoſition, as to forſake the governor bent upon enſlaving the ſubject; becauſe the only principle of a mercenary ſoldier is blind obedience, and an entire ſubmiſſion to the orders of his commanding officer.

As to the argument founded upon the ballance of power: I ſhall always be ready to aid thoſe powers on the continent, which are in real danger, and to ſuccour the diſtreſſed in the moſt effectual manner. But who are the powers now in danger, and that call upon us for help: and to whoſe aid an army of Ruſſians and Coſſacks are to march? are they our allies in Germany? is the preſent diſpute with France about the trade, navigation, and limits of our colonies in America to be decided by a battle upon the Rhine? or by an invaſion of Saxony, Holland, Bavaria, Heſſe, the Dukedom of Wolfenbuttle, or the Electorate of Hanover? can France pretend the leaſt colour to diſturb the tranquillity of Germany, becauſe Great Britain

tain makes reprisals at sea for her depredations and encroachments in North America? does not the constitution of the empire, and the natural tie of self-preservation unite all those petty princes against all invaders of their liberty and property? and, if I am rightly informed, their force when united, can at this time muster five hundred thousand men. A match more than sufficient to maintain the ballance of power on the continent! is it not notorious that we do not hire forces to defend, and add strength to our allies in danger of being attacked? but with a generosity not to be equalled in former ages, and the richest states, we have paid them for their own forces, and for forces, not levied on our account, but such as the necessities of their own situations will not suffer them to be without. If they are threatened by France, proceed with the destruction of her navigation; and her riches, strength, and ambition will dwindle away; and neither Germany, England, nor any other power will have any thing to fear from that quarter.

BESIDES they are all as much, and more interested in the preservation of that ballance than we are: and if it should happen to appear in any real danger, they certainly would, as in times past, unite under the eagle in their own defence, without waiting for a bribe from the lion. But since it is demonstrated to be in the power of the invincible arms of Britain by sea, to obstruct and ruin the trade and navigation of France,

France, and thereby make the ballance preponderate on our ſide; if we with an impolitic prodigality force bribes and penſions upon every Prince in Europe, who ſhall be mean enough to accept thereof: it requires not the gift of prophecy to foretell, that this nation will ſoon be reduced to an incapacity of feeding her neceſſitous neighbours, and will have nothing left for her own preſervation, but her native courage and bravery. Q.

No. 15. SATURDAY, *November* 15, 1755.

——*Four things* our NOBLE *ſheweth unto me; King, Ship, and Sword, and power of the Sea.*
Engliſh Policy, *ap.* HACKLUIT.

THIS motto deſcribes the NOBLE, an ancient coin ſtruck by King Edward III, the ſcourge of France, and avenger of the Engliſh merchants. It was dignified above all his other coins by this name, both from its contents, as being the firſt gold ſpecie of this kingdom; and from its inſcription, which is the King of England on ſhipboard, brandiſhing his ſword in defence of his dominion and ſovereignty of the ſeas.

WHILE

WHILE this coin was current, it was a ſtanding record of this nation's right to the Britiſh ſeas; of the means by which it is to be preſerved; and inſpired Britons with a true ſenſe of their national advantages, and with courage to maintain that dominion or power, without which they can be no longer a nation: for, according to the ſame poet, the true proceſs of Engliſh policy is this:

Cheriſh merchandize, keep the admiralty;
That we be maſters of the narrow ſea.
For, if this ſea be kept in time of werre
Who can here paſs without danger and wo?
Who may eſcape, who may miſchief differre?
What merchandize may we not let to go?

THIS was the ſyſtem of all the monarchs of this kingdom, that either have chaſtiſed our enemies, or protected their ſubjects in their juſt rights and liberties. But I wiſh there were no reaſons to ſuſpect a decay of this policy from the time this *noble* has been diſcontinued in our current coin: except we may hope from the vigour of the preſent miniſtry, that there will be no more time loſt in fruitleſs negotiations and time-ſerving treaties. How near does the preſent method of ſeizing the ſhips of France, for her hoſtilities in America, approach to that ſtandard of ſound policy? how happy ſhall this nation be under ſuch councils, influenced by a king, who regards no intereſt, but that of his ſubjects,

ſhould deter their ſucceſſors from giving into the ſame bad policy. The King is the fountain of wiſdom as well as juſtice; and whenever that ſpring is choaked up with flattery and inſincerity, the councils of his government cannot be wholeſome to the body politic.

WHO can injure a wiſe Britiſh King, if he is poſſeſſed of a ſuperior force by ſea? who can pretend to dictate or give laws to his navigation: or limit the commerce of his ſubjects? the ſhip is an emblem of our natural ſtrength: and experience proves, that no King of this iſland ever made a figure in the annals of his own or other nations, that neglected his fleet. No invader or uſurper ever carried their point in Britain without a ſuperiority by ſea: and every war, detached from our naval force, always left us in a worſe ſtate than before its commencement. Our navy carries terror with it into every climate: and is able to ſtop the whole ſtate of commerce throughout the known world; and thereby cut off the nouriſhment of that body, which is too powerful for us by land. The daily captures, which fill our ports will evince the fact. Thus it is, their trade is cut off: the ſource of their riches, and the ſtrength of their arms are blocked up. Where now is their boaſting of mighty armies? where are now thoſe battles and ſieges that drained our purſes and led our men to death and ſlaughter? while the power of the ſea was neglected, and Britons were tranſported into Flanders, the French were able to bid us defiance

defiance with a ſuperior force, and not only carry on their own, but to interrupt our trade and navigation: but, behold! no ſooner has Neptune reared his trident; no ſooner have the ſovereigns of the ſeas bid them defiance on the ocean, but they couch before the lion; and with an abjectneſs that reſembles the groveling of an animal, which was their original arms, they ſkulk in their holes, and waſte their ſubſtance by ſpitting their venom at the power they are afraid to encounter with thoſe weapons, which nature has ordained for our defence: and which are ſo natural to Britons, that we don't want frequent and very late examples that our very women are more than a match for them at ſea.

But it is not in the number of our ſhips, nor in the weight of our metal, nor yet in the experienced courage and dexterity of our ſeamen, we are to put our whole truſt. They muſt be commanded, animated, and led to the ſtation of honour, where the beſt ſervice can be done for the nation, by men of knowledge, conduct and integrity as well as courage. When it has happened otherwiſe, the nation has always ſuffered: the enemy triumphed. It was a complaint in our wars with Holland, that our loſſes were owing to the ſtallions and baſtards of lewd women, who had intereſt at court; and to other mean and diſſolute perſons, who could advance a ſum of money for a commiſſion on board the Britiſh fleet.

WHAT could be expected from ſuch a fleet, where thoſe upſtarts valued themſelves, not upon their ſervice for their King and country, but on their recommendation, and the intereſt of courtiers and debauched ladies? where neither virtue, good underſtanding, nor courage is to be found in the officers? or where an alliance with a noble family, or a ſecret intrigue with a corrupt m——r, ſhall ſcreen the coward and the traitor from the hand of juſtice, with all the formality and expence of a court martial.

THE ſword that is truſted to the hand of an hireling; whoſe arm is enervated with idleneſs, and debaucheries: whoſe heart is under the dominion of avarice, covetouſneſs, and a tyrannical diſpoſition; and whoſe mind is abſent from his duty, and taken up with the wars of Venus and the pleaſures of Adonis, is not the weapon with which Edward triumphed over his enemies. His fleets and his armies were not left to the command of Pimps and Panders. His officers were eminent for their birth, virtues, and martial bravery; and not for their obſequious ſervices to a miniſter in parliament. How can the man, who with his voice is always ready to aſſiſt the wicked in ſpoiling their country of its riches and privileges, be expected to fight, as he ought to do, for their liberty and property? and what wonder is it for common men to degenerate in their courage and obedience, when their leaders are corrupt, and are eſteemed by thoſe in power, for their art in evading that ſervice,

on which the ſafety of their country chiefly depends?

THEREFORE, if Great Britain's policy is to cheriſh merchandize and to keep the admiralty, we muſt be maſters of the narrow ſea; we muſt principally exert our naval force. Every one knows that our land forces, whether mercenaries or ſubſidiaries, have no influence upon the councils of our enemies. It is our naval force they are afraid of. It is the number of our ſquadrons of ſhips of war, when they are well mann'd and appointed, under brave experienced and honeſt commanders; and not a ſtanding army at home, nor a ſubſidiary army abroad, that gives us a due influence at foreign courts.

WHENEVER the power of the ſea is weakened by miſconduct in the miniſtry, by cowardice or treachery of the commanders, or by a neglect in the admiralty to put the navy in a reſpectable condition, then our trade and navigation muſt ſuffer; and our enemies will flouriſh in proportion. Would it not be incredible to poſterity? would it not brand the preſent generation to have it recorded, that Britain is able to maintain the dominion of the ſeas; to deſtroy every ſhip that peeps out of the enemy's ports; and yet reduced to a worſe ſtate of trade than their hoſtile rivals? what then can be urged in defence of our good friends the Dutch, by whoſe friendſhip and craft we have been frequently engaged in long and expenſive wars;

and we are at this preſent crampt in our trade by their carrying French manufactures and products, in defiance of our fleets, to underſell us in foreign markets, at a time our merchandize is loaded with an inſurance, as high almoſt as if we had the moſt powerful naval force to encounter in every part of the world? how can it be ſaid that we cheriſh merchandize, that we have a ſuperiority by ſea? when we connive at, or do not exert that power, which Queen Elizabeth made uſe of on the like occaſion againſt the Hans Towns, who pretended amity with England, and became the carriers of its enemy's goods. That magnanimous Queen, perſuaded that her ſubjects would be more hurt in their commerce by ſuch a contraband trade, than by an open force, ſeized ſixty of their ſhips on the coaſt of Portugal, and made prizes of their lading.

How then are we to maintain this power? not by a miniſter that makes it his firſt principle, to gain the favour of his maſter, *per fas & nefas:* that enters upon his office on condition to ſupport the worſt of meaſures: that places his confidence in penſioners and placemen, and ſecures his footing by a ſervile attachment to an extraneous intereſt; and that threatens to expoſe a nation to an invaſion, its trade to ruin, and its plantations to deſtruction, unleſs they will tamely ſubmit to apply the people's money, before he has had the conſent

of

of parliament, in ſubſidies that threaten its conſtitution with deſtruction. But we ſhould maintain it, as good King Edward did, by a true Britiſh heart prepared to die in its country's cauſe; and a well appointed, powerful and vigorous navy: of which I hope this nation was never better provided, and for whoſe ſucceſs, I dare venture to promiſe the hearty and ſincere good wiſhes of every true Briton.

P.

No. 16. SATURDAY, *November* 22d, 1755.

Potior viſa eſt periculoſa libertas quieto ſervitio.

SALLUST.

To the MONITOR.

SIR,

MY ſucceſs in trade having enabled me to withdraw from the hurry of buſineſs into a genteel retirement, I had reſolved to ſit down contented with my ſtation, and to enjoy the fruit of my labours with peace and comfort: but as no man is born purely for himſelf; as there is a tribute due to the ſociety of which we are born members; as our country has a right to demand our aſſiſtance; who can be an idle ſpectator? who can be ſilent? who can deny his help? when his c——y is in the greateſt of all dangers; the danger of falling a prey to a foreign intereſt by miniſterial flattery, or threaten-

ed to be conquered by the intrigues and arms of France.

In this caſe every true Briton ſhould quit all private allurements; and, according to his ſtation and abilities, ſtem the torrent of deſtruction by ſupporting every good, and oppoſing every pernicious meaſure, with a reſolution

Pro patriâ mori

to be buried in the ruins, rather than ſurvive the conſtitution of his country. I ſhould be very willing to ſtand up in the ſenate to explain or defend the true intereſt of my country. But I muſt conſider, that my attempt to gain a place in parliament might be attended with certain deſtruction to my eſtate or family, or prove abortive in delivering my fellow ſubjects from their grievances: I abhor corruption in the elector, as much as I condemn the bribe taken by the elected: I muſt content myſelf therefore with thoſe means, with which I am able to lend my aſſiſtance; and as I can find no other method of giving my teſtimony but by the preſs; a mark of liberty ſtill preſerved untainted; I ſhall endeavour to diſcharge a part of my duty by publiſhing in your paper the following remarks.

A parliament is called: His Majeſty tells them that he ſhall want large ſupplies: that the French have encroached upon our dominions in America, in time of peace: that they are not diſpoſed to reaſonable terms of accommodation and ſatisfaction; that he has entered into treaties with

with Ruſſia and Heſſe-Caſſel for troops: and promiſes good œconomy, and a faithful application of the money, when granted, to the purpoſes preſcribed by parliament.

In which it is confeſſed, that our preſent quarrel with France is not to ſupport the Houſe of Auſtria; nor for extent of territory, dominion, glory, religion, or any of thoſe worn-out motives, that formerly poſſeſſed the heads of princes, and kindled ſo many unmeaning bloody wars among them; but for *extent of trade*: it is whether the trading genius of Great Britain or France ſhall prevail. It is whether Great Britain or France ſhall rule the main. A quarrel, which, according to the beſt intelligence, will not be readily decided. Its ſeeds were ſown in treachery, and have been nurſed by perfidy. Such plantations can never be rooted up without much labour, difficulty, and expence: and if permitted to thrive, and continue, will not only infeſt; but utterly choak up, and deſtroy, our ſettlements and moſt advantageous commerce. Therefore, as, according to all human conception, this muſt prove a laſting quarrel; for France is never diſpoſed to quit her encroachments without force: and if it be lawful to ſcrutinize the councils of this nation, and to infer from the neceſſity of raiſing large ſupplies; there is no appearance of our ſheathing the ſword of juſtice, till our fleets have blown up their navigation; and our armies have reduced the French colonies to their priſtine narrow bounds;

ſo as to render them incapable for the future, to invade our property, or to diſturb our trade.

In order to judge of this with greater certainty; let us take a ſhort view of the ſtate of trade in France, during the laſt century; and compare it with their preſent policy and government.—From the death of Mazarine, the arts, ſciences, and manufactures, many of which had been introduced by that great ſtateſman the Duke de Sully, were revived, encouraged, cultivated, and brought to perfection in many parts of France, by the vigilance and under the protection of the able and faithful miniſter Monſ. Colbert.

To this encouragement was owing the great internal trade of ſilks, velvets, lace, tapeſtry, &c. By this trade, which the French for ſome years enjoyed without a rival, they acquired great wealth and power; and, notwithſtanding all the foibles of Lewis XIV. who ſacrificed every thing to his ambition and delight in war, by the ſame means that miniſter opened a foreign trade, and raiſed ſuch a navy to protect the ſame, as for a time became miſtreſs of the ocean. This great man ſaw, that France could never be rich and great by conquering, by laying waſte the neighbouring countries; that burning and deſtroying towns and villages did not at all enrich the deſtroyer; that the old dominions were drained to garriſon the new, and that they grew daily weaker and poorer in proportion to their extent of frontier. He gave their politics a new turn, and

and taught them where to find reſources; how to fill the land with inhabitants, and enrich them with commerce. He ſaw with concern, that while other nations were eſtabliſhing colonies at both ends of the world, France alone had neglected the ſea, as well as the few miſerable ſettlements they had at Martinico, St. Domingo, and Canada, which before his time were only an expence and burden to the mother country. He protected, cheriſhed, and ſoon raiſed them to a flouriſhing condition; not indeed to what they are now, but to a degree of proſperity they had never till then hoped for. Nay more, he taught them how to improve and extend them at our expence, and left them a regular well digeſted plan for their future operation.

But ſuch is the misfortune of the people, whoſe King is in love with armies and ſieges; whoſe will and pleaſure is their law; and whoſe councils flatter his paſſions and folly: that Colbert was no ſooner dead, but Lewis, deluded by his miſtreſs and confeſſor, deſerted the true intereſt of his people; and blinded with a falſe zeal for religion, inflamed with arbitrary power, in the madneſs of his pride, baniſhed the manufacturers, their arts, and trade; and thereby reduced his maritime commerce to a little more than a home conſumption; and by his pride and vain-glory, devaſtation, and havock of his neighbouring dominions, drew upon himſelf the reſentment and indignation of all the powers in Europe, which ruined his navy, ſtripp'd him

of

of all the reſources of his riches, and oppreſſed his ſubjects by long and unſucceſsful wars.

THESE awakening circumſtances at laſt rouzed the ſucceeding miniſtry; who preſently found there could be no way to ſave their nation, but by adopting Colbert's ſyſtem. They ſaw in his deſigns a ſtrong and laſting foundation of wealth and power to France; they adored his memory, they adopted his plans, and for theſe fifty years paſt, except a few unavoidable interruptions, they have ſteadily and uniformly purſued the execution of them: which our dormant, or rather wilfully blind miniſters have ſcandalouſly ſuffered them to do, moſt wickedly turning a deaf ear to all the remonſtrances and complaints of all our colonies, time after time repeated in vain. So that now the French have inſenſibly raiſed, and are in poſſeſſion of above thirty fortreſſes in North America, at the back of all our ſettlements, to diſturb and annoy us at pleaſure, ſteal away the trade and confidence of the Indians from us, and to be the perpetual incendiaries of jealouſy and war between us and them. This has been their plan to attack us in the ſource of our naval power; their practice has been to ſend a conſtant ſucceſſion of ſilent ſupplies, a ſhip at a time, which have ſurreptitiouſly crept in upon us, while our drowſy watchmen ſlept; and now they attack us openly.

WHAT are we now to expect? that they will lightly give up ſuch a ſyſtem as this? No: they

they will defend their uſurpations with their utmoſt power as long as they can, and when that fails, they may by ceding a little, and retaining more, patch up an inſidious peace with us, more to be dreaded than all their war.

WHAT therefore have we to do? but to prepare in time for a vigorous, and perhaps, a long war; to keep our fleets out conſtantly, to ſupply our people abundantly with proviſions, ſtores, and money: a great deal will doubtleſs be wanted in America: and therefore it is to be hoped that we ſhall not wantonly and unprofitably ſquander it away in Germany. *It is not meet that we ſhould take the childrens bread and caſt it to the dogs.*

WHAT in the name of common ſenſe can be the meaning of hiring troops in Germany or Ruſſia to defend either us or our colonies in America? might we not full as reaſonably hire a body of Samojedes or Siberians to be brought round by the north eaſt paſſage? They would arrive as timely, and do full as much ſervice, if our ſervice is meant. But to pretend that they are for our ſervice, to argue that they are for our aſſiſtance, when it is impoſſible they ever can aſſiſt us; is an impoſition upon the common underſtanding of mankind. If Britain is to be invaded and conquered, the blow muſt be ſtruck and the buſineſs over long before ſuch diſtant forces can come to our relief!

BUT, ſay they, it is to preſerve the ballance of power in Europe, leaſt France ſhould overrun

run Germany: France gives ſubſidies, hires auxiliaries, and therefore we muſt do ſo too, or ſhe will ſoon be too powerful for us. This is a mere fallacy: and I deny it abſolutely. We are by no means under the ſame neceſſity that France is: nature has given us a great advantage over France, if we did but know how, or had wiſdom enough to make a right uſe of it. Germany united would undoubtedly be an overmatch for France; therefore ſhe muſt give money to divide them: whereas it is our intereſt that they ſhould be united.

But if we have not the Ruſſians to keep the King of Pruſſia in awe, he will be hired by France to lay the heart of Germany in flames. What! hire Prince Volſcius to kill Prince Volſcius! No: this is too ridiculous to deſerve a ſerious anſwer.

But if we enter not into thoſe meaſures, France will by ſubſidies, by treaties, or by one way or other, bring Sweden, Denmark, and all Europe upon us. Is it then the intereſt of all Europe, or of any part of it, that France, that ambitious all-graſping power, that has for a century paſt, been aiming at the deſtruction of its neighbours, ſhould be miſtreſs of the ocean? or that we, who, as Britons have, and ought to have no views upon the continent, and while we are in our ſenſes, can have no deſire to diſturb our neighbours, or extend our dominions, ſhould be the maritime power? There muſt be ſome ſanity in the councils of all Europe: and,

if there is, doubtleſs without being hired, they will do what they can to give us the empire of the ſea, rather than France.

SUCH, however, are the poor, the wretched arguments that are brought in vindication of the moſt ruinous meaſures! Indeed they are urged but faintly; and a conſcious ſhame appears in the countenances of thoſe who uſe them. They look, as if they were not convinced themſelves, but diſputed againſt their judgment and conſcience. How is it then poſſible they ſhould convince others?

WHEN arguments fail, artifice is to be employed; and the well-meaning good people, who only wiſh to be quiet, are to be frighted out of their ſenſes with ſcarecrows, invaſions, flat-bottom-boats, &c. and therefore, I preſume, it is that every creature I meet with, who wears the face of a ſervile c——r, affects great apprehenſion and terror at the bare mention of them, puts on a very ſerious face, and ſhamefully endeavours to ſpread a paultry fear thro' town and country. Woe be to that nation or people where it ſhall become one of the wretched arts of government, to diſpirit the people in time of danger! Are the free-born to be terrified into miniſterial ſchemes, like children with imaginary goblins? but however catching panicks may be among mercenary ſoldiers; thank God, I cannot find that the idle fear has caught at all among the true lovers of their country. But every one, who wears that noble character

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in his breaſt, ſees and rejoices in the ſtrength and ſuperiority of the Britiſh nation; and while her triumphant fleets rule the ſeas, not a ſhip of France daring to appear upon the water, he ſecurely deſpiſes and laughs at the ſtalking phantom, the pitiful expedient of the remnant of a miniſtry to ſupport the worſt of meaſures. To reconcile us to the ſubſidies, we are to be frighted out of our ſenſes! Let us not ruſh into real ruin, to avoid imaginary danger.

You have already ſaid a great deal upon theſe deſtructive meaſures, but you can never ſay enough could you roar till the alarm ſpread through all the land: and all men ſhall know that our only danger is not from France; but that we have more to fear from the corruption and profligacy of our own people. C.

No. 17. SATURDAY, *November* 29, 1755.

Hoc fonte derivata clades
In patriam, populumque fluxit.

HOR.

THE ingenuity with which the following pieces are penned, make it needleſs to preface any thing in their commendation. The ſubjects on which they turn, are ſo intereſting and obvious that they want no illuſtration. And the

the decency of their ſtile will warrant this regard paid to them by the Freeholder.

To the MONITOR.

SIR,

In any ſtate, whoſe laws poſitively prohibit bribery, and whoſe members cannot bluſh when guilty of it publickly, a few remarks from Roman authors, I hope, will not be thought impertinent or offenſive, nor an improper ſubject for the Monitor.

A public office obtained by the means of money, or any other preſents given to electors by any candidate; nay, even ſubmitting to mean and low acts, in order to conciliate favour, and procure the votes of the populace, was by the Romans in their glory termed the *crimen ambitus*; and the diſtinguiſhing it by the name of a crime does great honour to old Rome. Horace has finely painted this circuiting candidate through the city, ſhaking hands with every dirty voter, and in the loweſt tricks addreſſing him as an old acquaintance. ——

Si res ſola poteſt facere, et ſervare beatum;
Hoc primus repetas opus: hoc poſtremus omittas.
Si fortunatum ſpecies et gratia præſtat;
Mercemur ſervum, qui dictet nomina. Lævum
Qui fodiat latus; et cogat trans pondera dextram

Porri-

Porrigere. Hic multum in Fabia valet, ille Valina;
Cuilibet hic faſces dabit; eripuitque curule.
Cui volet, importunus ebur; frater, pater, adde.
Ut cuique eſt ætas, ita quemque facetus adopta.
Lib. I. Ep. VI.

If wealth can make thee bleſs'd, and keep thee ſo,
Mind it the firſt, and the laſt thing you do.
If offices, and all their gaudy pride,
Then buy a witty ſlave to guard thy ſide;
To tell the great men's names, and nobles ſhow,
And warn thee to bow popularly low;
Sir, that's a Lord, and this, Sir's ſuch a one,
He bears the greateſt ſway in all the town:
Unleſs you cringe and get his voice, deſpair;
His vote diſpoſes of the Conſul's *chair:*
Sir, as their years require; ſome fathers call,
Some ſons, and pleaſantly adopt them all.
Creech.

During the time of the Republic many excellent laws were enacted to prevent this conſtitutional evil. Livy makes mention of one called the *lex Cornelia Fulvia*, by which largition to the voters was made a capital offence in the candidate, and puniſhed with baniſhment. And Pliny tells us in his natural hiſtory, that one Coponius was condemned as guilty of the *crimen ambitus*, for having given a voter *vini amphoram*, when a candidate for an office.
Tully

TULLY, in his epiſtle to Atticus, mentions the *lex Auſidia*, made by a tribune of the people; by which it was ordained that he, who diſtributed money among the electing tribes for their votes, from that time ſhould pay annually to the public uſe of each tribe, or ward, three thouſand ſeſterces. So that the tribes of the city being at that time four in number, his yearly puniſhment amounted to twelve thouſand ſeſterces, which, I think, in Engliſh money, are reckoned to be ninety-three pounds and five ſhillings.

JULIUS CÆSAR, 'tis true, during his dictatorſhip, check'd the mean and dirty practices of courting the people for their votes for public honours; but be it remembered, that he broke in upon the conſtitution of his country, and uſurped a right to nominate to the people one half of the magiſtrates to be by them elected. Thus, previous to the election, by his written mandates, he recommended ſuch favourites, as were moſt diſpoſed to forward his ambitious views of aggrandizing himſelf, and of trampling upon the liberty of Rome.

BUT from the time when the ſenate aboliſhed the power of the people, and transferred ſovereign power on the Prince, undue ſollicitation for public offices ſeemed to be no longer a crime. Hiſtory furniſhes us with inſtances of actions being brought in corrupted Rome, during the Imperial ſtate, by creatures of the court, againſt ſucceſsful candidates at a public election of magiſtrates, on a promiſe of a certain reward

to the plaintiff for his vote, or for his intereſt and aſſiſtance at ſuch election. — The only remark that I would make on it is, that the virtue of Rome was at a very low ebb, during the reign of ſome of its emperors; and that an invaſion in every ſhape upon the peoples liberty, in every ſtate and kingdom, ſhould be carefully guarded againſt and protected.

THIS curſory account of a canvaſs for a public office in Rome, if compared with the modern practice, preceding popular elections to public offices and honours in other countries, will give us reaſon to conclude, that ambition, corruption, ſelf-intereſt, and art, were not the growth of degenerate Rome only. All civil offices (to the great diſhonour of that nation) are ſaid to be publickly ſold in France: but no one will ſo much as ſuſpect ſuch baſeneſs in England, where the purchaſe of offices, which concern the execution of juſtice, or the King's revenue, is forbidden by the ſtatute 6 of Edward VI. chap. 16. and the purchaſe of places in colleges and halls, &c. by the ſtatute 31 Eliz. chap. 6. and in the canon law the *crimen ambitus* is termed ſimony.

THOSE perſons (in ſhort) who would deſtroy the liberty of the people in order to aggrandize themſelves or families, or who would in any ſhape alienate or ſell it, ſhould ſurely be the averſion of a free people: and none can be ſuſpected to be more deeply plotting this, than they who in their canvaſſing, buy their liberty,

in order, at a proper market, to ſell it with intereſt.

I am, SIR,

Your humble Servant;

BRITANNICUS.

The VISION *of* MIRZA.

ATTEND, O ye princes of the land; give ear to the words of truth, O ye people of Chaldea: hearken to the dream which Mirza your wiſe prophet dreamed. — I dreamed that I beheld a huge monſter ſtretched beſide the great river Euphrates. His head was like to that of a fox, and a crown was thereon: his eyes were the eyes of eagles, or of the ſerpent which creepeth on the ground; for they were exceedingly piercing: his paws ſeemed of gold; his fangs were gold and ſharp withal: his jaws were as a deep pit, and he was greedy as a ſea; the words of his mouth were as the words of infants, yea they were as the words of innocence and ſincerity; ſweeter were they than honey to the taſte, they were ſofter than the gum of Arabia; but his lips were the lips of treachery, and his tongue was the father of deceitfulneſs. I dreamed moreover that I beheld him ſwimming in the great waters; and he ſpoiled thoſe that traffic to far countries, and ſell their merchandize to the children of Tyre: and he would fain have ravaged the fields that lay on the oppoſite ſhore; for he ſaw that they were

rich and lovely, and that they ſmiled with the gladneſs of plenty: but the inhabitants thereof were rouſed as from a ſleep: their riſing up was ſudden as a whirlwind: like a lioneſs ſpoiled of its cubs did they burn with exceeding great wrath. The aſſembly of the people was numberleſs, and there was a voice ever and anon heard among them, "O liberty! how dear is "liberty! what will we not undergo for thy "ſake, O deareſt liberty!" they went moreover and ſtood before the King and cried with a loud voice, O King, live for ever! and may the glory of thy days be as the glory of the ſun. We do love thee, O King, yea we will ſpill our hearts blood to protect thee, O thou beloved ruler. We have ſeen a vaſt monſter ſpoiling our merchants, and taking rich ſpoils from thoſe that traffic to far countries. — Shall we not go forth, or ever he ſhall ravage theſe vales of fruitfulneſs, even the vales of Meſopotamia? ſhall we linger like ſluggards? ſhall we not unſheath the ſword of vengeance? ſpeak the word, O King, for thou art the ſon of wiſdom, and we know that thou loveſt us with the love of a father: let us go forth againſt this outragious beaſt: let us deſtroy him. While they were thus ſpeaking, methought I looked and ſaw an evil ſpirit appear among them, and he cried, 'Go not forth againſt this monſter, for it is deſtruction.' And at the ſame time he raiſed a miſt of darkneſs, ſo that their eyes might be blinded therewith; and it was darkneſs to be felt. But the people were exceeding wroth

wroth thereat, and burned to cruſh the evil ſpirit that gave counſel not to be followed; and they cried again with greater vehemence, 'Let 'us go forth, O mighty ruler, let us ruſh upon 'this monſter, like falcons; let us pour upon 'him like a torrent, O King, and we will 'overwhelm him.' — This was the dream which Mirza dreamed, even Mirza the prophet, that lies not, and whoſe viſions are the viſions of truth: conſider it in your minds, O ye princes of the land; conſider it, and proſper, O ye people of Chaldea. PHILELEUTHERUS.

P. S. THE Author acknowledges the Receipt of two Letters dated from PETERSBURGH, and DRESDEN, ſigned *Subſidy* and *Condeſcenſion*: but as their Contents are diametrically oppoſite to the political Principles of this Paper, and the Conſtitution of this Country; they cannot be received by the Britiſh Freeholder.

No. 18. SATURDAY, *December* 6, 1755.

Salus populi ſuprema lex.

WE are now engaged in a rupture with France, and I believe for the firſt time, of late years at leaſt, upon a quarrel of our own. The cauſe of it is, and muſt be, moſt dreadfully alarming to every lover of his country. It is whether France ſhall diſpoſſeſs us of all our colonies, the fountain and foundation of all our trade, wealth, and maritime power, that we

may fall a province to a nation of ſlaves, perhaps without a blow: Or whether by a timely, wiſe, and powerful exertion of our natural ſtrength, we ſhall reduce and confine the French invaders to their own narrow limits in America, and put it out of their power for evermore to diſturb the peace of mankind; and become ourſelves the great and glorious arbiters of Europe, for the tranquillity and happineſs of every nation in it. That this could ever come to ſuch a conteſt, is owing to the moſt criminal ſupineneſs, and profligate diſregard of the nation's greateſt concerns in ſome of our former adminiſtrations. Perhaps it may not be candid to charge it on the preſent. But ſhould they tread in the ſteps of their predeceſſors, adopt their pernicious meaſures, purſue their wretched plans of ruinous war and inſidious peace, and ſuffer our undoubted rights to the moſt valuable of our poſſeſſions to be fritter'd away in paultry negociations; what ſhall we ſay of them? Will they not become accountable for all the evil, all the ruin, that the long concerted ſchemes of our enemies through war and peace may have brought upon us? Doubtleſs they will be anſwerable, not only for their own crimes, but for all the guilt of their predeceſſors alſo. Is it not enough to raiſe and inflame the indignation of every Briton, to think that a few years ago a ſingle independant company might have driven away all theſe ſurreptitious invaders, and confined them within

their

their own boundaries, whom it will now coſt us millions to diſlodge from the very center of ſome of our beſt ſettlements?

AMERICA then is the ſole object of the war, and every honeſt man who hath eyes to ſee, and ears to hear, muſt conclude that it muſt be ſupported in America; nay, that our whole force, all that we can poſſibly ſpare from our own defence and ſafety at home, ought to be exerted there, till the laſt perfidious Frenchman be killed or driven away; that in one great effort we might ſoon recover what we have loſt, and ſecure our dominions there for the future. Inſtead of this, what have we done, and are about to do? we are to hire a hundred and forty thouſand men in Germany and Ruſſia to fight upon the continent; God knows why, or with whom! and we have ſent two miſerable battalions to recover our colonies. Can this be reconciled to wiſdom, to virtue, to concern for our country? is there the leaſt degree of common ſenſe or ſanity in ſuch meaſures? the cauſe of the war ſtill ſubſiſts, and is the ſame as ever; but the object is changed, transferred from weſt to eaſt, from ourſelves to pretended friends and uſeleſs allies and ſtrangers; God knows where! America is no longer the thing we fight for, ſome other intereſt is fatally ſet up diſtant from Great-Britain, and as far as the pole from her concerns.

Is this a meaſure of union? is this to eſtabliſh our intereſt between King and people? will this

produce unanimity? the want of which is ſo loudly complained of by the eſpouſers of theſe meaſures; becauſe the true lovers of their country cannot conſpire in its deſtruction. Is there then no ſtability in our councils, no ſteadineſs in our conduct, that we would ruſh blindly and deſperately into a war, and loſe ſight of the object of it, even before it be declared? what will all the world, friends and foes think of us? that the meaſure of our wickedneſs or folly is full, and will ſoon make us fall an eaſy prey. Therefore are our enemies tame and quiet; therefore they lie hid while we exert our ſtrength, and wait only till we wantonly expoſe our weakneſs, before they ſtrike. Situated as they and we are, they cannot, it appears, they cannot hurt us, they cannot reach us, while they lie at our mercy; but we are ſuch champions, we not only throw down the gauntlet of defiance (which we may do very ſafely) but we caſt off our armour and ſhield of defence; we croſs the water naked to meet them and put both in their power. What can be the cauſe of this fatal infatuation? is there any man ſo wickedly fond of power, as to ſet up and ſupport this ſtandard of diviſion and diſcord? that cares not what ruin he brings on his country, ſo he bear ſway in it? ſuch men, if any ſuch there are, would do well to conſider, even for their own ſakes (it would be vain to talk to them upon any other motive) that power ſo ſet up, can never laſt long: a morning inſect that muſt die with the ſetting ſun.

ſun! What avails it, who rules the helm, if the ſhip ſinks?

And yet there are men who avow theſe meaſures, argue for them, write for them. I have ſeen a pamphlet wrote in the character of a member, and I believe it is no feigned character; not only in juſtification of them, but of himſelf for ſupporting them in contradiction to his former ſentiments and conduct. I muſt beg leave to take notice of a few of his principal arguments, to ſhew how wretchedly men of ſenſe diſpute, when againſt their own judgment and conſcience they contend, not for truth, but vindication: how lame, how laboured are all thoſe reaſonings that are brought to ſupport a bad cauſe, or a tottering character! when truth and facts cry aloud againſt us, what avails a written defence? our actions muſt ſpeak for us; men will regard what we do, not what we ſay: if we are not juſtified by theſe, our characters muſt ſink, though like Cæſar falling, we cover them with an excuſe, that we may fall more decently. But let us ſee:

He ſets out with charging upon thoſe, who ſtand up for their country in oppoſition to theſe fatal meaſures, the abſurdity of ſuppoſing that we are at no time, and in no caſe whatever, to enter into any engagements on the continent. This is very unfair: for I am perſuaded, no man in his ſenſes ever ſaid, or thought ſo, ſeriouſly. On the contrary, I believe that all men think it right we ſhould at all times have alliances there.

But

But here lies the fallacy: the honourable gentleman, or the noble Lord (for I ſhould be ſorry not to give him his title) endeavours to paſs upon us treaties of ſubſidy, and the hireing foreign armies for alliances. Surely they are widely different. Alliances, where the advantages are in any degree mutual, give ſtrength to both ſides; whereas by ſubſidies we act only on our own ſtrength; which we exhauſt without ſecuring a friend: like a man who buys a beauty; ſhe is not his own when he has paid for her. As well might we call our ſervants to whom we pay wages our friends, as thoſe powers, to whom we pay ſubſidies, our allies; they will all alike quit their old maſters, and run to new for a new intereſt or more wages. Have they not always done ſo? does not all hiſtory tell us they have? the little German Princes more particularly have for ever ſhifted ſides, and changed their maſters? what reaſon is there to think they will not do ſo now, and for ever do ſo? could we form alliances with great powers; who would act with us upon equal terms, who would at leaſt endeavour to defend themſelves; this would be negotiating to good purpoſe, ſuch allies we ought to aſſiſt to the utmoſt of our ability. But we are exerting not our ſtrength, but our laſt agonies, in defence of a country, that never yet ſent a ſingle regiment, upon her own bottom, to our aſſiſtance, or the ſupport of the common cauſe. This is the alliance that coſts us ſo dearly!

But

BUT we have alliances; Hanover has alliances; and is ſafe, not only in the general protection of the Germanic body; but in alliance of mutual defence with the Queen of Hungary and other powers, who muſt and will aſſiſt upon any attack; ſo that ſhe enjoys a much greater degree of ſecurity than any other ſtate in Germany: ſo that there is not the leaſt call for this prodigality and ſuper-errogation in Great Britain.

ANOTHER argument produced, is this; that our greateſt and wiſeſt princes have ever engaged on the continent, and diſpoſed of large ſums of money there to great advantage, and particularly Queen Elizabeth; and, on the contrary, that in the weakeſt and moſt inglorious reigns we withdrew ourſelves from all connexion and concern with the other powers of Europe. This is neither truly, nor fairly ſtated: Queen Elizabeth diſpoſed of ſeveral ſums of money, but not large ones, very prudently and advantageouſly. When her intereſt called upon her ſo to do, ſhe advanced money to Prince Caſimir, the Duke of Anjou, the Hugonots, the Dutch, and Henry IV. of France; but it was after they had made the greateſt efforts for themſelves, and were no longer able to ſtruggle alone; when they were expiring under the oppreſſion of thoſe powers, who might afterwards have fallen upon England, and who ſhe knew intended it. Then it was, ſhe ſent thoſe timely ſalutary aids that ſaved both them and herſelf; but then ſhe did not

not give this money; no, ſhe only lent it, and was actually repaid, the greateſt part of it at leaſt, both by the Dutch and Harry the Fourth. (See Sully's memoirs, ſee all the hiſtories) I defy any man to ſhew when ſhe or any other of our wiſeſt princes ever paid ſubſidies as a preventive meaſure for the defence of allies (allowing the term) before they were attacked.

BUT if we do not interpoſe; if we do not ſtand in the gap; if we leave to the powers of the earth the defence of their own country; France will over-run all Europe, give the law, and ſhut up every port in the world againſt our commerce. What a figure ſhall we then make? what an uſeleſs parade will our triumphant navy diſplay, when we are ſo cut off from all connexion with mankind? Why, my Lord! we ſhall make at leaſt as good a figure as Gulliver's flying iſland; and will ſhut out day-light and ſun-ſhine from all powers that dare affront us, and receive the tribute of the whole earth. But ſeriouſly, do you think? does any man in his ſenſes think, that France can do this? did France ever do any thing like it, even in thoſe weak and inglorious reigns you ſpeak of, in ſome of which we ſcandalouſly enough (I grant) took ſubſidies to be quiet, and not interfere at all on the continent? it is true, ſhe did ſome miſchief to ſome little princes and ſtates: and what was the conſequence? did ſhe not raiſe by it the reſentment and indignation of all Europe, which brought on the war of the grand alliance, that at laſt brought

her within a hair's breadth of her deſtruction? and will ſhe, now ſhe is grown wiſer, provoke the ſame ruin? now when ſhe ſees her own intereſt ſo much more clearly than ſhe did then, and purſues it ſteadily through paths that lead more ſurely to wealth and power, the ſupport of her trade and the increaſe of her marine; both which ſhe endeavours to extend, vainly, I hope, at our expence.

THE balance of trade is greatly againſt us (as your Lordſhip well knows, or would have known, had you been to argue on the other ſide) in all the ports of Germany, Sweden, Denmark, and Ruſſia: we take moſt of their commodities, they but few of ours: will they ſhut up their ports againſt their own exports, the ſale of their own goods? men buy and ſell where they can do it to moſt advantage; no alliances, not the force of friendſhip between ſtates, nor even capital puniſhments can prevent this; nor France herſelf, after all her ſuppoſed conqueſts. But ſuppoſe, for a moment, ſhe ſhould: where would be the mighty loſs of giving up a trade by which we are loſers already?

ANOTHER argument I muſt take notice of, is drawn from our great ability to enter into theſe meaſures: it ſeems we are very well able to bear the load of expence they will inevitably bring upon us; and a debt of eighty millions at three per cent. is leſs, and infinitely more tolerable than fifty millions at five: as if the ſame contrivances that reduced the intereſt of eighty millions

millions to three per cent. could not poſſibly operate upon fifty. This puts me in mind of the man with his two cats; the great cat could get out at the great hole, but the little cat muſt have a little hole to creep out at, or be ſhut in. Such inſults upon our underſtanding do not deſerve a ſerious anſwer. But how is it that we are able to bear theſe expences? our ſtocks are ſunk already ten per cent. below par: we can raiſe no money but by borrowing: if there are any who can and will lend us, nobody will lend but for advanced intereſt. This muſt ſink the ſtocks ſtill lower; we ſhall want above two millions more than our income; we cannot pay the intereſt, but by laying a new tax.—— What is there not taxed already? Dogs, lawyers, and phyſicians, they are all uſeleſs creatures! a tax upon them will pay the ſubſidies, and ſo we are all made very eaſy.

THE laſt ſhadow of an argument that is brought, is the ſecurity of the Proteſtant intereſt. Are then the eſpouſers of theſe meaſures become ſuch warm advocates for the cauſe of religion, that they cannot truſt it in the hands of thoſe who profeſs it? or do they think that France is to conquer to make converts to Popery? Who would ever have thought that in theſe times, theſe men would all of a ſudden grow ſo zealous for their religion, as to part with their laſt farthing for the defence of it? If I thought them ſincere I ſhould rejoice at it, and would gladly contribute; but as I do not apprehend

hend *their* religion is in any danger, I can ſee no occaſion for this extraordinary zeal, and conclude, it may be ſafely truſted to the evangelic body.

RELIGION has often been made a ſtalking horſe; often the pretence, but never was the cauſe either of war or peace. Who knows not that the Proteſtant intereſt was eſtabliſhed in Germany by the moſt zealous Papiſt, he who perſecuted it moſt in France, Cardinal Richelieu, who concluded the memorable treaty of Weſtphalia, the bulwark of that religion? Proteſtant princes and armies have fought for Papiſts; and the houſe of Brunſwick itſelf, 'till of late years, was in the intereſt of France.

THUS ſtand all the arguments that ſupport theſe deſtructive meaſures, and upon the conviction they carry with them, they ſet up an intereſt diſtinct from that of Great Britain in this great and national war; ſhift the ſcene and the object of it to diſtant and foreign climes, and waſte all our blood and treaſure, not in our own defence and ſafety, or the protection of our colonies; but, like the knight of la Mancha, to ſecure, even from chimerical danger, Germany againſt Germans, and the Proteſtant intereſt againſt Proteſtants themſelves.

C

No. 19. SATURDAY, *December* 13th, 1755.

Arma amens capio, nec ſat rationis in armis.
VIRGIL.

To the MONITOR.

SIR,

I HAVE ſeriouſly conſidered the aſſertion in your firſt addreſs to the public, that no ſtate or commonwealth can be of long continuance without being reduced to its firſt principles: and the following thoughts are the reſults of my meditation.

OUR ſtate or commonwealth, as I believe all others originally were, is founded on principles of liberty: no people were ſlaves from the beginning.

LIBERTY is founded upon the equal ballance of power, in the body politic: for whatever the conſtitution of a ſtate may be, the weaker part will always be oppreſſed by the over-powerful.

POWER is acquired either by contract with the people, or by uſurpation, or by force: for, though we are exhorted to ſubmit to the powers in being; there never was a ſupreme that did not owe his exaltation either to bribery, the ſword, or the people's choice.

POWER founded upon the people's choice, is conditioned with an obligation to protect them in their juſt rights and privileges againſt all encroach-

encroachments, foreign and domeſtic: for, they reſerve the prerogative of making laws for their well-being; and though they delegate authority to the ſovereign for carrying their reſolutions into execution, they retain a power to exact an account of his proceedings, to reviſe the executive power, and to puniſh and amend what they find hurtful to their conſtitution. This is the power of Britons, and is lodged in the legiſlative body of king, lords, and commons.

To preſerve the ballance of power amongſt theſe parts, there have been various contracts of limitation in each of them. The king's prerogative is to confirm and execute the laws; to make peace and war; and to raiſe and diſband the military power. The lords are to guard againſt the people's encroachments upon the prerogatives of the crown. And the commons, as guardians of the people's liberties and property againſt any exertion of power or undue practices in the two other parts of the conſtitution, have the ſole right of raiſing and applying the public money.

Besides, as no people can preſume to be ſo well ſecured by internal laws againſt the attempts of a foreign enemy, or domeſtic plots, as to need no ſtrength but the civil power, it has always been found neceſſary in every ſtate to conſtitute a military power; ſubject to ſuch conditions, as to prevent its independency on either part of the conſtitution: leaſt thereby this auxiliary power

uſurp the government, and deſtroy the liberties of the people.

THEREFORE in this eſſential part of their contract, the people of this nation reſerved the bearing of arms or defence of their king and country to themſelves: for whoever truſts his defence to any thing but himſelf, becomes a ſlave to that in which he puts his truſt. A people may, by a crafty adminiſtration, be cheated out of their liberties; and under ſome ſpecious pretences be induced to ſurrender all thoſe barriers, which the wiſdom of their anceſtors had erected for their protection: but when the fraud ſhall be diſcovered, the people will reſume their juſt rights; if there be no new ſort of power eſtabliſhed for the ſupport of the arbitrary government.

THUS; if, we ſurvey the nations which are now under the yoke of ſlavery; it is certain they all date the period of their misfortune at the time they acquieſced in being diſarmed, and yielded themſelves up to the ſervice of a ſtanding military power, though compoſed out of their own body: for the people who put their whole truſt in a ſtanding army, even of their fellow ſubjects, muſt expect to be as great ſlaves, as if they ſhould depend upon an army of foreigners.

How did Spain loſe its freedom? was it not by a mercenary ſtanding army? which the people were perſuaded to allow their King to raiſe for the expulſion of the Moors. How did

arbitrary power gain the aſcendant in France? was it not by changing the ancient military force of the kingdom? by taking it out of the hands of their chief nobles, and granting the King the power of raiſing a ſtanding army? and, though Great Britain is not jealous of their ſovereign: though we are convinced that our preſent army is commanded by officers of honour and integrity, that would never join in the execution of arbitrary meaſures; yet, as we cannot promiſe ourſelves that this nation ſhall be always bleſſed with a wiſe and good King, and a virtuous and honourable army, Britons ſhould never give up their right to defend themſelves; but under the beſt of Kings they ought to provide againſt the worſt of tyrants; that they may neither be ſurprized nor deluded into thoſe meaſures, by which the liberties of other countries have been ruined.

THE military power on which the preſervation of the people's liberties depend, is the militia. The militia is the whole body of the people, who can never be ſuſpected of becoming traitors to themſelves, and of deſtroying their own liberties. And a ſovereign is never more in danger of loſing the affections and aid of his ſubjects, than when he diſarms them, and places his truſt in a ſtanding army.

WHEN the ſafety of this nation was to be guarded, the wiſdom of all times truſted the public cauſe to ſuch as had a portion in the public adventure. If at any time the ambition or

paſſion of our kings were to be indulged with a foreign war, the men of leſs livelihood were then enliſted, in order to purge the kingdom of its fruitleſs excreſcences. But ſuch armies were always diſbanded as ſoon as the campaign was over.

It has been always found, that a militia was the beſt defence of theſe kingdoms from invaſions; and produced the greateſt reſpect towards our ſovereign from abroad.

A ſtanding army ſufficient to cover the extenſive coaſts of Great Britain, is more than the nation is able to ſupport: and in its preſent condition muſt be confeſſed unable to prevent the deſcent of the moſt puſillanimous enemy, that might eſcape our fleets. How muſt the ſtanding forces be harraſſed and weakened by a political enemy, that might ſet both ends of this iſland on fire at once? where would be the deſence of our rich metropolis, ſhould the regular forces be drawn acroſs the Trent? or to guard the coaſt of Cornwal or Devon? where could the people find money to pay one hundred thouſand mercenary Germans, ſhould it be ſafe to call them to our aſſiſtance? yet in the midſt of all theſe difficulties, the native bravery, the original method, and the readineſs, as well as leaſt burdenſome means, direct us to place our dernier reſort in the militia: in that body of people which extends from eaſt to weſt, and from north to ſouth; and is ready at all times and in

all

all places to face the enemy of their peace and liberty.

THESE are the ſoldiers, of which our annals record ſo many and great victories in their country's cauſe, and defence of their rights and privileges. With theſe our ſovereign deſpiſed the threats of Charles VI. of France, and of Philip II. of Spain. And Great Britain never dreamt of truſting to any other army till the Popiſh faction in King Charles II. councils found means, after the bad example of France and Spain, to gain the conſent of parliament for a mercenary army, to pave the way to further encroachments on the liberties of the people.

WITH theſe the whole iſland is always in a poſture of defence: and the people are the leaſt burdened. For in any part of the coaſt it would be eaſy in three or four days to aſſemble one hundred thouſand effective men, without weakening the extremities of the nation: and theſe would return to their reſpective occupations for their own maintenance, as ſoon as the ſervice was performed.

BUT ſhould there come a time when this native ſtrength of Briton ſhould be permitted to decline: when the people ſhould be diſarmed, and given up to the protection of a mercenary army: it is to be feared that we ſhould ſoon degenerate into cowardice and effeminacy: and having loſt our liberty, fall an eaſy prey to the firſt invader.

If a ſtate truſts wholly to a mercenary army, and it happens to be defeated and cut off; where ſhall they find another to face the victorious enemy? one victory proves deciſive to their freedom, and the diſarmed people are obliged to yield to the enemy. But ſhould an enemy land in an iſland whoſe coaſts are guarded with a fleet able to cut off their retreat; and whoſe ſtrength is in a well-diſciplined militia; where the whole people are taught the uſe of arms; they encounter a many headed monſter, that multiplies by the blood of their fellow citizens, and Anteus-like, gains ſtrength by its fall. A militia in this nation was never conquered, and when one part of it has been worſted, another more formidable always roſe up to face the invader.

By a militia the nation prevents the great increaſe of half-pay officers, which is intailed upon the revenue at every reduction of a mercenary army, and delivers the people from the hazardous effects of a parliament crowded with a military power, obſequious to the miniſterial nod.

A militia would not only relieve us of the burthen of a ſtanding army; but it would ſecure our liberties from the danger of being overturned, as they were once, by a parliamentary army. I do not ſay that the nation has any immediate reaſon to dread the like uſurpation of power by the army that now exiſteth: but it is certain, the parliament had not always the power to diſband an army when they had a mind to it.

it. Therefore no affections for a good king ought to patronize a meaſure, which might be made uſe of under a wicked adminiſtration, to the diſarming of the people.

A government would gain the affection and eſteem of the people in general, and be more reſpected by their neighbours, did they truſt in a militia, rather than a numerous mercenary army: becauſe ſuch an army is an indication of diſtruſt between them and the people. But the militia convinces thoſe, who deſire to diſturb our peace, that while our navy carries terror and deſolation to their coaſts, we are able to protect our own againſt the moſt powerful invader. And no miniſter ought to dread any bad effects from a well regulated and diſciplined militia in this iſland, unleſs he is graſping at more power than the freedom of our conſtitution allows him.

THEREFORE let the militia be reſtored, and Britain will have nothing to fear from foreign or domeſtic foes. It will deter the ambitious and perfidious from infeſting our coaſts, and raiſing up factions amongſt us. It will deprive the advocate for ſubſidiary forces and a ſtanding army, of thoſe ruinous arguments with which they raiſe money, only to be conſumed: there would be no time loſt, nor reputation ſacrificed in fruitleſs negotiations, neutralities, and unprofitable treaties. The genius of Britain would once more revenge the indignities offered by our perfidious neighbours; and our

hopes would be crowned with peace, and with the ſecurity both of our liberties and trade.

Q.

No. 20. SATURDAY, *December* 20, 1755.

——*Tanquam majus ullum populo bellum ſit, quam cum eis, qui legum ferendarum cauſa eati, nihil juris in civitate relinquerent.*

TIT. LIV.

To the BRITISH FREEHOLDER,

SIR,

WHILE we are alarmed with great preparations, and ſaddled with large impoſitions on our eſtates, for carrying on a war with France; while the nation is divided into parties, on the ſubject of the new method of making alliances by ſubſidiary treaties: and whether H——r or the Britiſh Empire in America is to be the object of our care, it becomes the Freeholder to take his part in the debate.

TELL the contending parties what Livy writes of the Roman people, preſſed by a faction in their ſenate. He adviſes them firſt to purge the ſtate of thoſe, who ſtuck neither at corruption nor oppreſſion to maintain their power, and then to unite againſt the common enemy. What war, ſays he, can be

of more conſequence to the people, than that which is levelled againſt thoſe, who, entruſted with the legiſlative power, would leave neither right nor juſtice in the ſtate?

WHAT reaſon Livy had for this admonition, which, though not ſo laconic, is equal to the royal proverb, *Take away the wicked from before the King, and his throne ſhall be eſtabliſhed in righteouſneſs*; may be collected from the corrupt ſtate of the Roman ſenate, when it was deſerving of that ſevere reproach,

O urbem venalem, ſi emptorem inveniſſet!

intimating, that they, who had been choſen to make laws for the well-being of the commonwealth, and to prevent any encroachments on thoſe laws, either by force or corruption, were become ſo venal, as to be ready to ſell even the city itſelf, could there be found any one that would give them their price.

BEFORE that time the path to honour and power was by virtuous and great actions; but then money without merit opened the door of preferment, at which fools and knaves entered, in ſuch droves, as left very little room for the admiſſion of honeſt men. Then it ſeemed a crime to be virtuous; and the people, by taking bribes for their votes, ſet ſuch a bar to their complaints, that they were afraid to complain, when their ſenators made merchandize of their liberties and property, and joined thoſe at the head of the government, who in the diſpoſal of conſulſhips, governments of provinces, commands

mands of armies, and every public employment, regarded neither the merits nor ſervices of the candidates; but diſpoſed of every place to ſuch only, as would join with them in meaſures ruinous to the people.

How near have ſome modern ſtates copied this example? we need only mention the iniquitous practices in the reign of Charles II. which brought this nation to the very brink of deſtruction; when men of virtue, untainted probity, and love to their country, ran the hazard of being ruined by levelling their ſtrength, wiſdom and integrity againſt thoſe, who entruſted with the legiſlative power, would leave neither right nor juſtice in the ſtate; when the parliament, the ſtrength and glory of Britain, was filled with a band of abject penſioners: when the King of England debaſed his crown by taking a bribe from France, to the prejudice of his people: and when the nation wept at the ſight of their ſenators cloathed with the badge of ſlavery, and doing the moſt abject drudgery for cloaths and ſuſtenance.

THE hirelings retained by the court in that illuſtrious body were ſo numerous, that if any point were there carried on England's ſide, it ſeldom had the majority of more than two or three voices: and in the contended election between Mr. Trenchard and Mr. Bertie, the latter carried it by a reſolution, that thirteen was more than one and twenty. And when the good old laws were produced in bar of their proceedings,

proceedings, they pretended to raiſe an evil ſpirit to explain them away. In the ſame manner they trafficked away the peace of Europe; and laid the foundation of the hitherto unſubdued power of France. But if to ſell the determination of any difference between private perſons is held in the higheſt deteſtation; how execrable muſt they render themſelves, who under the name of guardians, traffic away nations and the rights of a free-born people!

THESE practices became at laſt ſo intolerable, under the ſubtile politics of a jeſuitical miniſtry, who from their known art of evading the letter of all laws, both human and divine, by the doctrine of mental reſervation, and by fixing to them a contrary meaning or intention, under the name of the ſpirit of the law, or of an act of parliament; that the people ſaw it of the greateſt conſequence to turn their reſentment againſt thoſe ſappers of the national conſtitution; not only by calling and inviting the Prince of Orange to deliver them from ſuch arbitrary proceedings, that had found out a diſtinction to ſet aſide every thing, which the wiſdom of the nation had before enacted againſt Popery and arbitrary power; but by ſettling the crown of theſe dominions on the Proteſtant line of the Royal Family, under certain reſtrictions.

A nation, which had ſo lately experienced, that there was no confidence to be placed in the word of p-rl-m-nts: that k—s would not be bound

bound either by their promiſes or oaths: and that the people muſt always be the ſufferers, when the connections or bigotry of their king prompted him to meaſures inconſiſtent with the liberties and religion of Great Britain; moſt wiſely, by their new act of ſettlement, provided in the beſt manner they were able, againſt all encroachments, either upon their religion, property, or freedom.

To put it out of the power of a Papiſt to aſcend the Britiſh throne, this act ſecures the crown to a Proteſtant branch of the Royal Family: and to ſecure the nation from any loſs or damage, which might enſue from engagements, into which Britain might be drawn by the connections of the family, on whom the crown was ſettled, it was enacted, "That in "caſe the crown and imperial dignity of this "realm ſhall hereafter come to any perſon not "being a native of this kingdom of England, "this nation be not obliged to engage in any "war for the defence of any dominions or ter-"ritories, which do not belong to the crown "of England, without the conſent of parlia-"ment."

By this act therefore it was intended to guard this kingdom againſt the deſtructive principles of Popery, and the ruinous meaſures, which might draw us into a war upon the continent, contrary to the real intereſt of Britain, for the defence of a country or ſtate, which could have no natural connection with this iſland,

iſland, notwithſtanding its being governed by one and the ſame perſon.

THIS act then was eſtabliſhed as the barrier of our religion, liberty and property; and whoever goes about to break it down, either in one part or the other, opens a gate for the admiſſion of the ſame confuſion, which brought on the revolution. I cannot ſuſpect ſuch a miniſtry and parliament, as now ſteers the helm, and gives life to the councils of the ſovereign, who governs Great Britain by virtue of this very act, can ever be ſo loſt to their King and country, and to all right and juſtice, as to riſque our all, by finding out, or yielding to, any ſophiſtical arguments, invented to overthrow, or invalidate this only ſecurity of our religion, and peace with the ſtates on the continent.

WHAT ſhould we think of the man, who ſhould venture to broach the jeſuitical doctrine of intention againſt the expreſs words of an act of parliament? and to inſiſt that this act of ſettlement was retroſpect; only excluding the fugitive King and his family? yet to alledge that any other than the preſent Proteſtant line has a right to theſe dominions, is no leſs than high treaſon, founded upon this very ſtatute. What then will that ſubject be guilty of, that attempts to invalidate that ſecurity of the liberty and property, which the people enjoy under the inviolable preſervation of the other clauſe in the ſame act of ſettlement; by defending ſuch meaſures, as engage us in the defence of dominions and

terri-

territories, which do not belong to the crown of England; and by urging the ſpirit or intention of the act againſt the expreſs letter, the intereſt of the nation, and the moſt apparent reaſons for ſuch a clauſe? A clauſe equally enforced with any other part of the ſame act, and being paſſed into a law upon ſo ſolemn an occaſion, as ſettling the crown of theſe kingdoms, and ſince re-enacted, upon another very ſolemn occaſion, is become a fundamental and ſacred part of the conſtitution of the united kingdoms; upon the ſtrict and inviolable obſervance of which the further tranquillity of theſe nations, and the properties of the ſubjects of Great Britain greatly depend.

Is it not then moſt amazing to hear Britons arguing againſt the equity of this act; and ſhewing their ingenuity by diſtinguiſhing away its obligation, and aſſerting its inſignificancy and impropriety? How little do they conſider the true intereſt of their king and country, ſhould they compliment the ſ———n with preferring his word, or the integrity of his councils, to the wiſdom of parliament! ſuch ſycophants and flatterers are more to be ſuſpected than an open enemy. How little do they foreſee the evil tendency of introducing the doctrine of intention, in oppoſition to the letter of the ſtatute! did not the advocates for the king's diſpenſing power, and the high commiſſion-court palliate all their arbitrary proceedings with the very ſame identical ſophiſtry? Nor can any one ſhew me

me how this clauſe can be ſaid to be retroſpect. Was it enacted to condemn a former mal-adminiſtration; not to prevent future evil meaſures? was it intended to root out Popery and arbitrary power; and not to protect us from beggary and deſtruction?

SHOULD ever ſuch a doctrine be admitted by thoſe who are intruſted with the legiſlative power; poſterity might ſuſpect their integrity, and look upon them, as we do thoſe abject penſioners, who did the drudgery of King Charles II. for cloaths and ſuſtenance. What ſhould we then think of their politics and integrity towards the intereſt of their King and country, who plead for an abolition, or at leaſt for a total neglect of the act of ſettlement? that take the liberty to arraign the wiſdom of parliament, by aſſerting, "That the proviſions for ſecuring this nation from embarking in quarrels on the continent, in conſequence of any difference or engagements, which the King of England, as Elector of Hanover, might have with any powers there, were carried farther than even the nature of a limited monarchy can admit of? and that the nation would not have been a bit leſs ſecure in her intereſts and liberties, had they been omitted in the act of ſettlement?" They, who diſdain to reap riches or power, which muſt be ſown upon the ruins of their country; and think it more honourable to undergo the fate of the general cataſtrophe, than to be cloathed with the badge of ſlavery;

will

will alway conſider it to be their duty to endeavour, as much as is in their power, to defend the equity and advantages of the act of ſettlement to Great Britain, and to detect the iniquity of thoſe, who, contrary to right and juſtice, enervate the whole, by deſtroying the efficacy of one of it's moſt material clauſes.

AND yet I do not deny but ſome laws are to be conſtrued, not altogether according to the letter, but according totheir meaning and intention. In all ſuch caſes the intention is never to be interpreted in a negative ſenſe, by which the ſtatute or the clauſe quoted ſhall be made void and of none effect; but in order to confirm and enforce the law. As in the preſent caſe, I apprehend the intention of the clauſe above-mentioned, was to prevent any meaſures being taken by the King of Great Britain, in favour of dominions on the continent, to the prejudice of his Britiſh ſubjects.

THE plauſible cry of gratitude and juſtice towards the beſt of kings, and the houſe of Hanover, is the next colouring with which our m——l daubers try to decorate their ſchemes, and leſſen the value of the act of ſettlement. Shall we, ſay they, permit the dominions of our ſovereign, which are a pledge for Britiſh councils, to be expoſed to the reſentment of the angry powers on the continent; to ſuffer loſs, and be overrun in our cauſe, and not aſſiſt them with all our forces? Shall we deny a people connected with us by the ties of a family-intereſt, the aid

of

of a common ally? Does the act of ſettlement place Hanover in a worſe ſituation in reſpect to Britain, than ſhe was in before?

OUGHT not the Hanoverians to inform us to whom they are become a pledge for Britiſh councils? and who are ready on that ſcore to over-run them? till then we neither know how to aſſiſt them; nor can we be properly called upon by any ties of gratitude or juſtice, to raiſe a numerous and expenſive army for that purpoſe. That we could ever deny her the aid of an ally, when attacked, is an unjuſt and ſcandalous inſinuation and reflection on the wiſdom and faith of a Britiſh parliament. And that Hanover is in a much better ſituation by her intercourſe with Great Britain, than ſhe was before the paſſing of the act of ſettlement, will admit of no ſort of doubt.

ALL that the advocates for a religious obſervance of the act of ſettlement, in regard to our connections with the continent at this juncture, require, is, that no troops ſhould be taken into Britiſh pay; by which the treaſure of this nation ſhall be exhauſted, without their expediency for the defence of the Britiſh dominions, or for the aſſiſtance of our allies, conformable to treaty, be clearly and fairly made appear to parliament: that we do not engage in a continent war, which may involve Britain in a debt and miſery, not to be paid off with victories, nor compenſated by triumphs; and that the

public money may not be aſked for one uſe and applied to another.

INTEGRITY, good œconomy, and wiſe conduct in the Britiſh miniſtry, will render their adminiſtration eaſy and glorious: but they have never wanted confuſion and ſtrife, who have either adviſed or connived at any encroachments on the liberties and property of their fellow ſubjects. The people once convinced of a deſign to invade their rights, have frequently truſted to the hazard of the common enemy, till juſtice was executed upon evil counſellors. And when their concurrence ſhall be found neceſſary to increaſe his majeſty's influence on the continent, to animate the friends of the Houſe of Auſtria, againſt the ambitious and reſtleſs family of Bourbon; or to repreſs the diſturbers of the public tranquillity, there can be no doubt of a readineſs to unite with the adminiſtration in any meaſures, not contrary to the act of ſettlement: that important and well-concerted act, by which the preſent family was advanced to the throne; in confidence that ſufficient care ſhould be taken, that in any new alliances, they, who ſhall unite with us, will be our allies, and not mercenaries; cemented with friendſhip and intereſt, and not ſoldered with a mixture of gold and avarice, which perhaps in the heat of action may diſſolve, and conſign us to utter ruin. P.

No. 21.

No. 21. SATURDAY, *December* 27, 1755.

Etſi—Satis in ipſa conſcientia pulcherrimi facti fructus erat, tamen mortali immortalitatem non arbitror contemnendam.

CICER. *Phil. ſecunda.*

Mr. MONITOR,

AS the intention of your paper is to inſpire the heads and hearts of your countrymen with a ſenſe of public morality, I make no apology for ſending you the following ſtory; which, tho' mixed with allegory, evidently abounds with virtuous and public ſpirited ſentiments. It may poſſibly give you a little reſpite in a vapoured day; when the wind is in the eaſt; your head akes, and you want both inclination and ſpirits to ſollicite your pen.

I am, Sir, yours.

T. B.

YOUNG Scipio was arrived at that period of life, when the underſtanding is preſumed to be ripened to ſuch a ſtrength and vigour, that both nature and law deliver a man up to himſelf, and leave him under the direction of his own council. Soon after this æra his father died. As he had repreſented the county in ſeveral parliaments, and diſcharged his truſt with integrity and conſiſtency, without regarding the

times; who more proper to ſucceed him than his ſon; who was the heir of his virtues, as well as of his fortune? accordingly, at a public convention, young Scipio was the man unanimouſly pitched upon.

When the news was brought him by a deputation of ſelect friends; he received it with a modeſty, that became his youth; a gratitude, that teſtified a worthy heart; a warmth, natural to a man, conſcious of a real love for his King and country, and who had been taught to conſider it, as one and the ſame paſſion, only ſet and beheld in different lights.

When his friends were gone; he began to revolve, what poſt he was invited to undertake; what part it concerned him to act; ſo as to anſwer the expectations of his conſtituents; ſo as to bring no diſgrace upon himſelf and blood.

To indulge thought he took a ſolitary walk into a large wood, not far from the hall; and finding a great variety of ideas croud in upon his mind; ſome dictated by reaſon; others by paſſion; and not a few by intereſt; he reſolved to ſeat himſelf on the bench at the end of the avenue, to examine, ſort, and compare theſe ideas, in order to determine, what choice to make.

No ſooner had he reached the bench, than he threw himſelf upon it in a careleſs manner; and reſting his elbow on one ſide of it, he reclined his head upon his right hand; the poſture of contemplation; and gave a looſe to all the powers and workings of the intellect.

Amidst

AMIDST the many thoughts, which racked and perplexed his inexperienced mind; ſome pulling this way with an air of inſolence and impetuoſity; others pointing to the contrary, and inſinuating in ſoft and perſuaſive whiſpers, that it was the cleaneſt and ſafeſt road; he ſpied at a diſtance two female forms, advancing towards him in the ſame avenue. This ſtartled him a little, not gueſſing what perſons they could be, and not over pleaſed with the fear of being interrupted.

WHEN they drew ſo near, that he could ſurvey their faces and perſons diſtinctly, he diſcovered a ſurpriſing difference. The one had an open, ſerene, healthy, and modeſt countenance; which indicated a mind quite at eaſe and peace with itſelf: her perſon was tall and ſhapely; her movements graceful and unaffected; her dreſs neat, but inelaborate; her gown white, the emblem of purity; ſo that ſhe gave him a clearer idea of Horace's *ſimplex munditiis*, than he had ever met with in his beſt commentators.

THE other was much of the ſame height, but her habit corpulent and maſculine; her face not ugly, but large featured; the roſes and lillies too clear and ſtrong to be natural. She was very fine both in jewels and cloaths; but the jewels ill-placed, the cloaths aukwardly put on, ſo that ſhe ſeemed of mean birth, and by ſome caprice of fortune hoiſted unexpected into high life. As ſhe walked along, ſhe often ſurveyed herſelf with a peculiar air of delight; now turn-

ing her eyes on this part, now on that: her geſtures beſides, as well as ſome novelties of dreſs, *viz.* very low ſtays, and very ſuccinct petticoats offended his eye; as they ſeemed to intimate, if not a meretricious, at leaſt a heart full of vanity and conceit.

When they came near to Scipio (though before they had kept an equal pace) the latter being the younger, and reſolving to ſpeak firſt, ſhot forwards with a briſker ſtep; and having made her obeiſance, thus addreſſed him.

You ſeem, young gentleman! from the attitude of your perſon; the ſeverity and contraction of your brow, to be wrapped into deep contemplation, and from ſome hints I have received, I gueſs at the cauſe of it. You have been lately diſtinguiſhed and nominated by the country gentlemen to repreſent the county in parliament; and I preſume you are revolving in your mind the honour done you, and balancing with yourſelf, in this age of parties, which ſide to chuſe. But, come Sir, let me have the pleaſure of delivering you from this perplexed ſtate, which I can infallibly do: and if you have but the confidence to make me your guide, I will ſhew you the way to eaſe, delight, and proſperity. You muſt have heard, to be ſure, of a certain great man, to whom I will introduce you; and from the largeneſs of his levy, you will ſee, how much he is followed and adored: how every eye is fixed upon him: how happy the man, to whom he vouchſafes a gracious

cious nod or a ſmile, His eloquence and penetration are ſuch, as I am confident, will captivate your heart, and fix your judgment; and if you can prevail upon yourſelf to be his friend, you will find your account in his being yours. I confeſs indeed, you have a fair eſtate, but your father's hoſpitality, and the legacies of his will, have, I am told, a little embarraſſed it. Beſides, what a vile manſion is your ſuperannuated hall? how old faſhioned the gardens, that grow to it with high walls, that intercept your proſpects? the ſituation to be ſure is fine, and would well become a modern ſeat; and I am much deceived, if a man of your taſte and ſpirit can be happy without making the improvement. But then; where's the money, the ready money? Moreover; the honour intended for you, will draw after it an extraordinary expence; if you regularly attend parliament, as, I preſume, you intend to do: town living runs high, even in neceſſaries; and as to pleaſures, though they are not neceſſaries, yet they are deemed ſuch by young men: and why not by you? unleſs you are made of different mould. Ridottoes, maſquerades, plays, White's, concerts (not to inſiſt upon the mimick tribe of routs, drums, and ſo forth) are called neceſſaries by the polite world: and ſhould you forego theſe expenſive gayeties and amuſements, the fine ladies and beaus will poſt you, as a queer country thing, without taſte or ſpirit. Come Scipio! you are in your firſt flower; you have paſſion; you have taſte; and

to think of acting, like a ſtanch ſenator of forty or fifty; that is, attending the dry buſineſs and debates of the houſe, in order to judge, is abſolutely out of character; it is unnatural; no body expects it of you; and reſolve, as you may, I am confident you will never perform. Yield up yourſelf then to my generous patron; act with ſteadineſs and energy in his intereſt; and he will ſupport you in your gayeties and gallantries: you will have nothing to do, but to give your vote: and ſhould you in certain caſes have a few qualms of conſcience, he has caſuiſts at his command (I had like to have ſaid l—wn-caſuiſts) to make you eaſy. Let me tell you, Sir; five or ſix hundred pounds a year, a clean penny and punctually paid, and for ſuch a trifle, as a dead v—e, is a pretty thing. It will balance the diſappointments of dragging tenants, and the loſſes of broken ones. Theſe are the promiſes; theſe the tenders I make to my votaries; and I truſt you are a man of too good ſenſe to treat them with coldneſs and diſdain.

When Scipio had heard her out with a patience and attention, becoming a well-bred man: Pray Madam, ſays he, what may I call you? O dear Sir, I have two names; my friends call me Felicity; my enemies, by an abuſe of language, and to blacken my character, call me Corruption.

It was now the other lady's turn; and, making a courteſy, ſhe thus broke ſilence.

O Sci-

O SCIPIO; you cannot conceive what I have ſuffered, during the ſpeech of that vile enchantreſs. Her adulations, her ſophiſtries, her proſtitutions, filled my breaſt with rage and contempt, and with much ado I kept them from boiling over. However, I am glad I did not interrupt her; as it would have been breaking the law of good breeding: perhaps I may now be even with her; for what I offer, I am certain, will give her pain. Know then, young gentleman! I am not unacquainted with the care your wiſe parents took of your education; what virtuous principles, both private, ſocial, and political, they inſtilled into your tender mind; and I am perſuaded, your heart is good; and your temper patient of the ſoundeſt inſtructions. Pardon me then, Sir, in taking the advantage of theſe liberal inſtitutions, and liſten to my advice. I could eaſily go back into the ſtory of your worthy anceſtors; but that would divide and dilate your attention. Set before you only the example of your father, now no more, except in the hearts of good men, where he ſtill lives. Conſider how happy he was in himſelf; how reſpected in the world: how adored in his country: conſider his calm and peaceful exit. You ſaw it with your own eyes; you ſaw it with tears, mixed with admiration: and can this divine image be ever blotted from your memory? will it not inſpire you with a reſolution to copy it? your ambition, your inclination to do this, I cannot, I ought not, to ſuſpect; but, alas!

you

you are going to launch into a wide ſea; and there are rocks, ſands, and whirlpools; I mean temptations in your way; and you have paſſions in your nature, like other men, liable to be corrupted. Guard well then your heart; treat your paſſions, as ſlaves; for if once they become maſters, you are undone. Take care, likewiſe, what company you keep; example is bewitching; if you touch pitch, it will ſoil your fingers.—My advice, you may ſay, is rigorous; it is a hard taſk to follow it; I own it: but is it a taſk too hard for Scipio? recall to your memory the young Roman, your name-ſake: aſk, how he behaved; what he did; when he was preſented with a moſt beautiful young captive virgin: did he retain her for his own pleaſure, which by the looſe law of arms he might have done? no! he enquired into her country, birth, and engagements; and finding her betrothed to a Celtiberian prince, by name Allucius, he ordered both him and her parents to be ſent for, and delivered her untouched into their hands: on this condition however, that he expected their friendſhip towards his republic. The large ſum the parents brought for the ranſom of their daughter, the generous Proconſul nobly refuſed, ſince he had freely reſigned her; and when they urged him to accept it, and at laſt threw it down at his feet, he retired; but immediately beſtowed it on Allucius, as an addition, on his part, to his wife's fortune. This ſignal continence, this true heroiſm gained him the affections of

the Spaniards, and did his country more ſervice than even his taking of New Carthage. You ſee, Sir, Africanus's ſenſe of generoſity, and his love of his country, triumphed over the paſſions of his nature. And ſhould you ever be tempted in the ſame, or any ſimilar manner, I hope you will not forget that your name is Scipio. I confeſs indeed the goods I tender you are not of ſo ſtriking and palpable a kind, as the bait of corruption: but are they not more ſolid, laſting, and honourable? they are fame, glory, the eſteem of good men, ſelf-approbation, and a firm hope in the happy iſſue of virtuous actions. Theſe I call goods, ſay the world what it will; and I am confident you have a mind too refined, and philoſophical to deſpiſe them. Moreover I promiſe you liberty; the faireſt daughter of heaven; its richeſt gift to man: you ſhall have the power of ſpeaking, thinking, and acting for yourſelf; which is the original right of nature; and the covenanted right of a Briton: ſo long as you enjoy theſe goods, you cannot be miſerable; you have fortune enough for a wiſe man: covet not to enlarge it at the expence of your honour, and the intereſt of your country: ſhould you ſucceed, it would be a fool's bargain; ſhould you not ſucceed, it would be nothing ſhort of madneſs. Come on then, my Scipio! follow my advice! it will make you happy as long as you live; and when this ſhadowy ſcene is paſt, you will not be delivered over to oblivion and contempt, as a noxious, or a worthleſs creature.

You

You will be honoured and remembred in the minds of good men, till time be no more: and this earthly immortality (ſhould no higher await you, though you have been bred up in the contrary belief) ought not in my opinion, to be deſpiſed by a mortal man.

THIS ſpeech was ſo ſuited to the taſte and ſentiments of Scipio: that he manifeſted his inward pleaſure and ſenſibility by a moſt gracious ſmile, and aſking the lady her name, as he had the other before, ſhe replied; I alſo am diſtinguiſhed by two names, according to my habitation; when I am in heaven, my native home, I am called Aſtræa; when I dwell among men, my name, in the Engliſh tongue, is Virtue.

WELL, ladies: I muſt needs confeſs, you have played your parts dexterouſly; you have preſerved unity and propriety: nevertheleſs the points in queſtion being matters of importance, I muſt beg a little time to balance and determine. If you will honour me with your company tomorrow, at the ſame place and hour, I will not fail to give you the meeting, and my final reſolution.

THE ladies then being only imaginary beings, who for this purpoſe had perſonated human characters, became inviſible in a moment; and Scipio returned to his houſe.

D.

No. 22.

No. 22. SATURDAY, *January* 3d, 1755.

Nihil eſt deteſtabilius dedecore; nihil fœdius ſervitute, ad decus & libertatem nati ſumus; aut hæc teneamus, aut cum dignitate moriamur.

CIC. *Orat. Phil.* III.

WHEN Scipio came in, he retired into his library; partly to indulge a ſolitary grief; partly to revolve the ſtrange ſcene that had paſſed. At his uſual hour he went to bed; reſolving to conſult his pillow; which, whether owing to the deep ſilence of the night, or the inaction of the ſenſes, excites ſometimes a vigour and reach of thought, more than enough to ſhame our day-ſpeculations.

THE mind thus agitated yields not the body to reſt; ſo that he tumbled and turned from ſide to ſide; now twiſting together; now ſeparating and ſorting his ideas; doing and undoing, like Penelope's web; and leaving the work as unfiniſhed as when he began.

HIS heart was good; his judgment beyond his years; but having in his nature the ſeeds of corruption; and thoſe partial orators, his paſſions, to plead its cauſe; he felt the pangs of a doubting, divided, and perplexed mind.

WEARIED out at laſt he fell aſleep; but his ſlumbers were ſhort, unſound; broken and diſturbed

turbed by many ſtrange phantoms! ſo that when he roſe in the morning, he was ſenſible of very little refreſhment.

His dejected air roſe with him; but this was ſo natural in his preſent ſituation, and ſo much of a piece with the other parts of the family; where ſighs were waſted from ear to ear, and every body wore one face of ſorrow; that no particular notice was taken of it.

In the evening he repeated his walk, and ſeating himſelf, as before, according to his promiſe; the imaginary perſonages ſoon ſtood before him in the forms and habits of the preceeding day.

Well, Ladies; ſays Scipio, ſtanding up; I am highly indebted for your punctuality; and am come to impart to you my final and deliberate reſolution. Nevertheleſs, like a candid and capable judge, I will not make my decree without going into the arguments you pleaded: and as the lady, who calls herſelf Felicity, addreſſed me firſt; to cut ceremony ſhort, I will, firſt, give her my anſwer.

You ſeem, Madam, to have ſtudied human nature, and to be admirably converſant in the ways of the world: and from the great ſucceſs, I am ſenſible, you may have met with, you may probably be ſtartled at a repulſe from me.

It is a maxim I have heard, that every man has his price: but I think it a deteſtable maxim; a vile libel upon human nature. However, had you bid higher, I might, upon this principle, have

have been ſtaggered; but your offer of five or ſix hundred pounds, though a handſome ſum, I cannot poſſibly accept upon the terms and tenure you propoſed: the tenure is unſtable, and reſts upon too many uncertainties; upon my ſteady attachment; upon the life of your patron; upon his permanence in power: which I cannot reckon an annuity for his life. The terms likewiſe ſhock me too much; I muſt degrade myſelf; I muſt deceive my friends, who will ſhun me, as a peſtilence; I muſt renounce my avowed honeſt principles: I muſt not ſpeak, or judge, or act for myſelf; that is, I muſt ceaſe to be a man: I muſt, in ſhort, like the oſtrich, ſwallow down every thing, without aſking; whether it be food, or poiſon.

WOULD not this, I beſeech you, be a hard bargain on my ſide? but hard as it is, I queſtion, whether you could make it good: five or ſix hundred *per annum* for a dead v—e is a large ſum; and I am told, the market is ſo full, that the price is much fallen. Beſides; I have only your maſter's word for this; and ſhould I be ſo ſilly, as to take it; when my character is gone, I ſhall be at his mercy; he may uſe me like a dog, as I deſerve; and give me nothing but a bare bone to pick: my five or ſix hundred may dwindle to two, or three, and I cannot help myſelf. I may complain indeed, that he is not a man of honour: but will that hurt him? but I dare not complain; becauſe to complain is to prove my proſtitution.

YOUNG

YOUNG as I am, and unlearned in the tricks of policy, I aſſert not this upon my own knowledge; but I am credibly informed, there are few places of one thouſand or twelve hundred pounds a year, but have two or three penſioners quartered upon them; not indeed at the rate you propoſe, which is impracticable; but at two or three hundred a piece. This, in the town phraſe, is called, lying two or three in a bed: and before I would ſubmit to ſuch low and dirty indignities, I would ſell my eſtate, pay off my debts, baniſh myſelf with the reſidue into a foreign country, and live at large, as a citizen of the world; leaving at my departure Jugurtha's bitter ſarcaſm upon Rome; — *Urbem venalem, & mature perituram, ſi emptorem invenerit!* — O mercenary city, and ripe for ruin, if any body ſhall be found rich enough to buy thee!

IT would ſhock me indeed to be compelled to leave my native Britannia, whom I ſincerely love; but love her, as I do, I would abandon her, rather than renounce the dignity of my nature.

As to the extraordinary expences and pleaſures of the town; I think they lie within the reach of my eſtate, in the degree I propoſe to indulge: as to mending my fortune in the way you mention; though I deteſt the thought of it, yet were my heart leſs delicate; how could it be? have not the lower claſs of placemen and penſioners much a do to live? and I cannot

be ſo vain as to think, that my little ſervices could be of conſequence enough to intitle me to the higher. A dull dead v—e has no great merit; and it would be well, if ſome gentlemen would conſider this: they would not then ſpend fifteen hundred, or two thouſand pounds in the purchaſe of a b—h; which diſtreſſes them oftentimes as long as they live: they would certainly content themſelves with a private life, to which both their talents and eſtates are better adapted: there they might eat the bread of innocence, which to a virtuous palate is far ſweeter than all the dainties of corruption.

I HAVE now, Madam, anſwered, I think, the ſubſtance of your arguments, to ſecure my attachment to your noble maſter, and you ſee my reſolution. Nevertheleſs; as you have done me the honour of ſo extraordinary a viſit, I have a few more things to impart.

IN the firſt place then, I confeſs, Felicity! the force and dexterity of your addreſs: you ſpake to my ſenſes; you ſpake to my paſſions; that is, to the weakeſt and ſtrongeſt part of my nature; the weakeſt to reſiſt; the ſtrongeſt to perſuade; and had not that celeſtial maid come to my aid in the critical moment, what the iſſue might have been, it is impoſſible to ſay.

WISE men have fallen; I alſo am a man; a young man; and to flatter myſelf, as placed above the frailties of human nature, would be a folly, that would prove me young indeed.

ANOTHER impediment to the ſucceſs of your embaſſy is, that I have had the misfortune of an unhappy education, as your patron perchance may call it: I have been early tinctured with a ſenſe of virtue; and the ſeeds ſown have grown up with me. I was taught to venerate the eſtabliſhed religion of my country, and to think it a good one; I was taught to fear God, and honour the King: but I was never taught to fear or honour his miniſter. Fear him I will not, ſo long as I purſue thoſe paths, which virtue, liberty, and the intereſt of my country point to; and honour him I cannot, unleſs he deſerves it; my will being not in my power. However, as I have no perſonal pique, or prejudice to your illuſtrious maſter, tell him, I will be his upon the following conditions.

LET him --- (I ſpeak in the preſence and under the protection of a goddeſs, and will be bold:) let him, I ſay, not ſquander the public money in bribery at elections; which ruins the morals of the people, as well as enervates the eſtate; let him not make vile bargains with money-jobbers, which inſenſibly eat out the heart of the exchequer; let him not grant unneceſſary penſions, at a time when the public wants every ſhilling of the money. This would bring infamy upon his adminiſtration, and could anſwer no wiſe purpoſe, except to ſecure himſelf, at all events, in the poſt of honour: honour, do I ſay? I mean power; for honour there

there can be none, except his power be ſupported by men of honour; and this he need be in no pain about, if he purſues meaſures, agreeable to this free conſtitution, and for the benefit and glory of the Britiſh nation.

In conformity to this plan; let your thrice noble patron employ in the high and important offices of the ſtate, men of ability, integrity, and lovers of their country. It being the ſame thing; whether the nation be undone by ignorance or knavery.

Let him in the inferior departments keep a jealous eye; and if there are dirty hands, call them to account; or not ſkreen them at leaſt, when others do it in a legal and parliamentary way.

In matters of the church; let him promote to her dignities men of virtue, piety, genius, and learning; without aſking, whether they are the ſons, the brothers, or nephews of ſuch ſenators, as are his ſl---s. Let him not at leaſt (for I would not be too rigorous) fill her ſtalls with blockheads, parafites, and informers; who are a diſgrace to their patron, and to the places they ſit in; having neither abilities to defend the religion of their country, nor virtue to adorn it.

When I ſee ſuch a revolution, wrought by his hands; tell him, I will draw a veil over paſt tranſgreſſions, and be his; entirely his, without place or penſion; and ſuch an inde-

pendant friendſhip will do him credit, and me no diſgrace.

THIS anſwer, and theſe reflections, ſo abaſhed and mortified our lady, that, though not remarkable for her modeſty, ſhe knew not which way to turn her head; ſhe now felt how falſely ſhe had uſurped the name of Felicity; and fearing that Scipio's anſwer to Aſtræa, would add to her pain, ſhe inſtantly vaniſhed. But whether ſhe returned to her fellow-demons in the nether ſky, or to a fine ſeat in S——y, her terreſtial palace, is not eaſy to determine.

DURING this ſcene, Aſtræa was not a little pleaſed to find her young pupil thus nobly acquit himſelf: and from what had paſſed, ſhe could not but anticipate his anſwer to herſelf.

MADAM, ſays Scipio, I am truly ſenſible of the honour you have done me in leaving the regions of light, to guard my giddy days of youth, paſſion, and inexperience; and you ſee how well I have profited of your advice. But pardon me, Aſtræa! in requeſting a farther favour; which is, that you would continue to be my good genius.

I HAVE reſolved within myſelf to copy the example of my worthy father, both in private and public life, as you recommended; but alas! what are the reſolves of green years? they are weak, unſtable things, blown out like bubbles, by the guſts of paſſion.

SHOULD this at any time chance to be my unhappy caſe: viſit me, O celeſtial maid! in your

your human form: be preſent to my outward ſenſe; which carries a force, and inſpires an awe, which abſtracted virtue cannot poſſibly do.

I flatter myſelf, I have not indocility of temper: if I have, you have flattered me alſo: but that cannot be; for real divinities never lie. And ſo long as you obſerve this docility in me, oh! ſpare not your reproofs, when I err; nor give me over for a loſt creature, if I chance to ſlip.

O my Aſtræa! inflame my breaſt with thoſe generous principles, which are the paſſions of reaſon: a love of liberty; a love of all that love her; that is, of all true Britons. And ſhould I at any time be off my guard, and through ſurprize or temptation be falſe to any one of theſe principles; oh! call me immediately to a ſevere account. Tell me, that, although you make a merciful allowance for my private offences, whoſe evils terminate in myſelf; yet you will never pardon my public tranſgreſſions, in which thouſands are involved and injured.

SET before my eyes the examples of the ancient worthies, who died glorioufly in defending the liberties of their country; give me a liſt of the Britiſh heroes, whoſe blood conſecrated the ſame righteous cauſe: who delivered down to poſterity this happy and free conſtitution, and fixed it upon a baſis, which nothing but our own impious hands can overturn.

Oh! fill me, and my fellow-citizens, with a prudent, but warm zeal to ſupport and preſerve it, from the dark ſappings, or open aſſaults of ſubtile, and ambitious men; men, who frequently hazard all, rather than reſign the poſts of profit, or power.

These are my requeſts; theſe the gifts I aſk: and if you are pleaſed to favour me, I will build you a temple in my heart, and regularly perform in it the duties of adoration.

Astræa replied; doubt not, good Scipio, my providence over you; be juſt to your promiſes, and faithful to your principles, and reſt aſſured of my protection.

Having ſpoke this, ſhe diſappeared in a moment. D.

No. 23. SATURDAY, *January* 10th, 1756.

Et mihi quanquam prope nihil jam relictum eſt, quod perderem; ſi tamen iſta impune ſuſtinenda ſint, ſolatium erit iram potius, quam contemptum pati. Quintil.

To the FREEHOLDER.

SIR,

To ſurvive that integrity with which the liberty of my country muſt be ſupported, would conſign me to univerſal contempt. The ſoul

ſoul impregnate with care for the public weal, is content to be the object of miniſterial reſentment, rather than conſent to meaſures, which, againſt law and without reaſon, ſhall lay a new burden of ſeveral hundreds of thouſands a year upon a nation, whoſe lands are mortgaged, whoſe revenues are anticipated, and whoſe taxes cannot be borne without murmurs, nor increaſed without danger.

No place, no influence, but the power of doing what is right and juſt, ſhould ever enter into the merit of any debate; much leſs decide a queſtion, on which the liberty and property of the ſubject, and the ſtability and the luſtre of the throne ſhall depend. I had rather boaſt with the philoſopher, whoſe mediocriſy is expreſſed in this one line,

Omnia mea mecum porto,

than for the wages of corruption be controuled in that liberty of ſpeech, which every Briton has a right to; and is, in a peculiar degree, the undoubted privilege of the repreſentatives of the people. But it is great ſatisfaction to know, that the corrupter can never deprive an honeſt man of the approbation of the good and virtuous: an advantage which always accompanies laudable actions. It is enough for him to ſay, I have reſigned my place, rather than enjoy its profits upon diſhonourable terms: and I have proceeded to the utmoſt of my power, in oppoſition to thoſe meaſures, which my conſcience and the laws of my country informed me were

pernicious to the conſtitution; though it has not been in my power to ſtem the torrent of miniſterial influence.

THIS ſenator, who dares thus to aſſert his independency, becomes the *deliciæ humani generis*, the delight of mankind; and exemplifies in his particular conduct the duty of every member, and the neceſſity of maintaining the dignity and freedom of parliament.

A due balance and independency of the conſtituent parts of the ſupreme legiſlative power are abſolutely neceſſary for its exiſtence, and is required by the ſpirit of our conſtitution: when either part becomes dependant on the other, the conſtitution is dangerouſly altered; but if one ſhould over-balance the reſt, the conſtitution would be totally ſubverted.

As the three branches of our legiſlature are diſtinct, they ought to have no dependency on each other, but what proceeds from the public good, and the mutual proſperity of every part. And as it is always allowed, that the two houſes of parliament are a check upon the crown, as well as upon each other; if that check ſhould ever be removed; if the crown ſhould by places, penſions, or any undue influence, procure a majority of voices to grant whatever the miniſtry propoſes in both houſes of parliament, *actum eſt de republica*, the conſtitution will from that moment be deſtroyed.

HENCE we account for the people's jealouſy over this eſſential qualification of their part in the legiſlative power. This is the reaſon why

ſo many laws have been enacted againſt bribery and corruption, placemen and penſioners; leſt there ſhould come a time when elections might be purchaſed with public money; or when a conſtant majority of placemen might proſtitute the dignity of parliament, and under the name of the guardians of liberty, eſtabliſh grievances; implicitly approve the unconſtitutional meaſures of a court; ſupport and ſkreen wicked miniſters; and grant money without bounds.

If we appeal to former adminiſtrations, which endeavoured to maintain an abſolute power by a penſionary parliament, what a ſcene of miſmanagement, miſunderſtanding, and neglect of the national intereſt! what diſcontent at home! what diſhonour abroad! what ruin! what deſtruction have we not read of both in church and ſtate! what reproach! what contempt! what loſſes may we not point out when the parliament preferred places, penſions, and the favour of the ſervants of ſtate to their honour, duty, and to the natural intereſt of their country!

One king gained their approbation of a foreign ſubſidiary army, which he imported to compel his ſubjects to yield up their liberty. Another made uſe of a ſtanding mercenary army, kept up in the time of peace, to enſlave the people.

In theſe caſes, had the repreſentatives of the people remained true to their duty: had they never conſented to the raiſing of a ſtanding army: had they even exerted their authority againſt

againſt the importation of foreigners; they might have prevented thoſe evil meaſures of King John's government, which obliged the people to join with the lords in the hazardous alternative of calling in a foreign power, and to ſubmit to a yoke of their own choice, rather than to the heavy burden, which their own ſovereign was endeavouring, by the connivance and puſillanimity of their repreſentatives, to lay upon their ſhoulders. And the want of integrity in the members of parliament, who ſacrificed the liberties of England to the will of Richard the Second, laid the foundation for thoſe depopulating and cruel wars, with which this land was made a field of blood for almoſt two centuries.

THESE were the methods in ancient times, when our kings were not content with their power, and attempted to make themſelves abſolute. They prevailed with the parliament to grant them an army; and then turned their arms againſt the conſtitution; for which their miniſters were often hanged, themſelves dethroned, and ſometimes brought to an untimely end. Misfortunes! that ſeldom attend the ſlow and ſilent operations of corruption, which by gaining a majority in the ſenate, has been very ſucceſsful in eſtabliſhing arbitrary government, in more powerful nations than Britain.

THE fatal conſequences of a ſtanding military power in the hand of the prince, being found ſo deſtructive, not only to the peace and liberty of the people, but to the independency and ex-

iſtence of parliament alſo, which was thereby rendered uſeleſs: they that aſſiſted the ſovereign to fleece the people, and to deprive them of their rights, became ſo cautious of their future grants of forces in time of peace, that when the miniſtry of King Charles the Firſt applied for no more than 3000 mercenary troops, we all know that they were denied. For why? 'Leſt his 'majeſty ſhould have been prevailed upon by 'his miniſters to influence and deſtroy the in-'dependency of parliament.' The very men, who for their obſequiouſneſs to King Charles the Second, were ſtigmatized with the odious name of penſioners, were ſo fearful of loſing their independency, that they voted a few guards to be a nuſance, or hurtful to the national conſtitution; verifying the proverb in the goſpel; *The children of this world are wiſer in their generation, than the children of light.* They made no ſcruple to ſell their votes for an employment, a penſion, or a bribe, in favour of thoſe ruinous meaſures, which impoveriſhed the people, and ſkreened the rapacious and ignorant miniſter. But they would not conſent to arm the crown with a power that had been, and might again be turned againſt themſelves, and oblige them to comply thro' fear, inſtead of a penſion.

To what ſhall we aſcribe the unparallelled obſequiouſneſs of the parliaments, during the reign of Henry the Eighth? When evil counſellors could no longer ſupport their uſurpations and oppreſſions by force, they had recourſe to pack-

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ing the parliament. They firſt ſecured the returning officers, and then recommended ſuch a parcel of mercenary wretches, called, by hiſtorians, his majeſty's ſervants, to be choſen repreſentatives of the nation, as, like Eſau, were not aſhamed to ſell their birthrights, and to become ſlaves to their purchaſers. Theſe were the men, who, contrary to all juſtice and equity, in compliance to their maſter, paſſed an act to annihilate all the debts the king had contracted upon loans; and ſhared with his majeſty in the plunder of that immenſe treaſure, which had been ſecured by Magna Charta for the laudable uſes of religion, learning, and hoſpitality. They even complimented him with a power to diſpoſe of his crown and kingdom by will.

THE refinement, which ſucceeding miniſters made in this political ſcheme, has ſometimes threatened a total ſubverſion of two parts of the conſtitution. The ſame parliament that was ſo zealous in the eſtabliſhment of the reformed religion, under good King Edward the Sixth, was ready to oblige Queen Mary with a reſtoration of popery. And they who made their court to Queen Elizabeth by aſſiſting her in accompliſhing the death of Mary Queen of Scots, profuſely ſquandered away the rights of the people to reconcile themſelves to the arbitrary notions of King James her ſon. A reign in which deſpotiſm was carried to ſuch a height by filling the parliament-houſe with a majority of court dependants, that tho' it was thought convenient

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to retain the formalities of that auguſt body, and the vain enſigns of their former authority, they loſt their dignity, and were of no uſe, except to give a ſanction to the arbitrary proceedings of the government. But, what was the effect of this uſurpation? His ſon's miniſtry refined ſo high upon this arbitrary ſyſtem, that they ruined themſelves; expoſed their king to a violent death, and overthrew the whole conſtitution.

YET this cataſtrophe could not deter the like meaſures in his children and ſucceſſors. For, tho' no prince ever aſcended the Britiſh throne with more indications of a happy reign than Charles the Second and James the Second; the miniſterial ſchemes being unconſtitutional, they had recourſe to the old artifice of ſupporting their intereſt, and carrying their propoſals againſt the voice and real welfare of the nation, by the iniquitous practice of ſecuring a majority of voices in parliament, by bribery, places, and penſions; and if the ſtory of Sir John Copleſton and Sir Richard Wiſe may be credited; thoſe two gentlemen were commiſſioned to keep open houſe at the foot of the parliament-ſtairs, to feed the hungry members with a dinner, and a ſum of money under their plate, by way of equivalent for the ſervice of the day.

THIS open violation of the freedom of parliament was amongſt other grievances complained of at the revolution: and ſeveral acts have paſſed, with a view to eradicate that pernicious ſtate-weed, which is nurtured by corruption, and watered

watered by bribery. Theſe acts were levelled both againſt the giver and the receiver of any bribe, &c. at an election. And by the very act of ſettlement, by which tenure the preſent Royal Family enjoy the Britiſh dominions, it is expreſsly enacted, 'That no perſon having a penſion from the crown ſhould ſerve as a member of the Houſe of Commons: which by the 3d and 4th of Queen Anne was re-enacted, 'That 'no perſon having any penſion from the crown, 'during pleaſure, ſhould be capable of being a 'member of any future Houſe of Commons.' And by an act, 1 George I. brought in by a ſecretary of ſtate, and ſupported by moſt of the adminiſtration, this incapacity was further extended to all perſons having any penſion from the crown, for a term or number of years, either in their own names, or in the names of any other perſon, in truſt for them, or for their benefit. By which all perſons, who have penſions from the crown, during pleaſure, or for any term or number of years, are rendered incapable of having ſeats in the Houſe of Commons. For, as that faithful and wiſe miniſter ſaid; 'He that 'has no intention to make uſe of bribery and 'corruption, will always be ready to aſſiſt in 'the prevention of ſuch infamous and illegal 'practices.' Nor do I remember, that the ſervants of his majeſty, who were the managers of this bill, were either intimidated before, or diſcharged from their poſts and offices after it was paſt.

BUT,

BUT, what certainty can be depended upon in human affairs? theſe bulwarks of a parliamentary independency were ſcarce erected before a new ſtate-engineer diſcovers an unguarded paſs, by which he makes himſelf maſter of the capitol. His ſchemes were weak, inconſiſtent, ruinous: his power muſt be ſupported at all events; which could not be done without deſtroying the independency of parliament: and obſerving that no proviſion had been made by either of thoſe laws for diſcovering ſecret offenders; he, upon the iniquitous principle, 'That every man has his 'price,' provided the bribe can be concealed, introduced a ſecret commerce, and a more dangerous traffic with the guardians of liberty, than ever had been attempted before. This monopolizer of power has taught poſterity, that the only ſecure method to deſtroy the independency of parliament, and enſlave Britons, is firſt to get all the places and poſts of profit and truſt under the king into his own diſpoſal; then by creating new ones and ſplitting the old places, to ſtrengthen his intereſt with the people; who neglect the public good to obtain ſome private advantage. And his dependants in this new theory of politics were ſo well analyſed, that the exciſemen, cuſtom-houſe officers, and officers in the docks and yards were to recommend themſelves to his favour, by their diligence in the art of frightening their neighbours into a choice of a miniſterial candidate.

WHEN

WHEN a gentleman is choſen a member of parliament, he is admitted counſellor for his ſovereign in national affairs, as well as truſtee for the people: and in both theſe reſpects he is in honour and juſtice bound to give his opinion freely and ſincerely upon every queſtion that requires conſideration. But when this counſellor's fee is the chief object of his attention, and paid by the ſovereign, and ſhall be withdrawn, if he does not plead for all meaſures, though ever ſo ruinous to his truſt; what freedom and ſincerity of ſpeech can be expected from ſuch a repreſentative? if pecuniary influence ſhould ever prevail in a Britiſh parliament, the wicked and ambitious miniſter, who diſtributes corruption, might raiſe to himſelf a faction; who partaking of his bounty, and hoping to ſhare with him the ſpoils of their country, would ſupport him and his deſtructive meaſures. What then ſhall become of all our boaſted liberty, all thoſe valuable privileges, that have been obtained and tranſmitted down at the expence of ſo much treaſure and blood? for, as under the maſk of religion, the moſt arbitrary and cruel things have been acted; ſo if the crown ſhould ever find ways of being more intimate with its parliament, than conſiſts with the ſafety of the people; if the guardians of the nation degenerate into miniſterial tools, Britain muſt be enſlaved under the ſpecious name of an act of parliament.

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No. 24. SATURDAY, *January* 17, 1755.

Totius injuſtitiæ nulla capitalior eſt quam eorum, qui cum maximè fallunt, id tamen agunt, ut viri boni videantur. CICERO.

To the FREEHOLDER.

SIR,

IT is evident from this ſcrap of Tully, that the race of hypocrites is very ancient; and I am confident you have reaſon enough to concur with the orator's aſſertion, that they are the moſt impious crew upon the face of the earth. What is ſo deteſtable, as to cover iniquity with a robe of virtue? and to do miſchief under the ſacred appearance of duty and conſcience?

LET us examine the reaſon of this obſervation; and it will be diſcovered, that the Roman ſtate was greatly peſtered with that kind of vermin. No reign, no conſulate, no ſenate was clear of them. Tarquin's tyrannies were not without their advocates, who, to enrich themſelves in the ruins of their country, preached up paſſive obedience and non-reſiſtance. The exigences of the ſtate ſanctified the moſt iniquitous meaſures of Sylla and Verres. And the public bribes in the ſenate were moſt frequent amongſt thoſe, who, under the form of government and juſtice, were moſt dexterous and active in the

arts of plundering the people, and of betraying their truſt.

THEY that had their court to make to men in power were obliged to turn hypocrites; to approve of what conſcience condemned; and to find arguments to defend the moſt ruinous meaſures of their patron. If the prince, dictator, or conſul, invaded the rights of the people; theſe good men were a corps of reſerve always ready to place the encroachment to the account of prerogative, or to the neceſſity of the times; and pretended, that they ſubmitted for conſcience ſake. If the complaint was againſt a penſionary or corrupt ſenate; they pleaded its neceſſity in order to repreſs the licentiouſneſs of the people. And if the treaſury was exhauſted by miſapplications, or by taking a greater ſhare in the quarrels of their allies, than was conſiſtent with the intereſt of a wiſe people; juſtice and gratitude were immediately eccho'd in the forum, to cram the burden of the war down the throats of the injured ſubjects.

WHOEVER aſſumed a greater air of juſtice and public virtue than Sylla? and yet no conſul could more artfully ſtrike at the liberties of the people. Who could frame ſo good excuſes, and plead with the ſenate for keeping a ſtanding army on foot in Gaul more rationally than Cæſar? who all that time was employing the wealth and arms of the people to make them his ſlaves.

THIS peſt of ſociety was not confined to the Roman republic. All ages and nations have felt

the bad effects of its infection. And by tranſplanting, it has been improved to ſerve the moſt unjuſt purpoſes both in church and ſtate.

To this we may aſcribe the loſs of the many thouſands, who have been ſacrificed to religious bigotry. The inquiſition, which aſſumes the title of the *holy office*, is the offspring of this policy. To this account alſo we place the Pariſian maſſacre; the blood of the Royal Martyr; and the deſolation, which followed upon this nation.

THE good men in thoſe days of confuſion and violence cried out for liberty and property; and for the law and the goſpel. But inſtead of maintaining their birthright, and the true religion, by ſuch means as the laws of the land, and of Chriſt, preſcribe; they overturned the conſtitution; beheaded their king; robbed the churches; and introduced hereſies and ſchiſms without number.

THEN they were ready enough to appeal to the limited meaſure of power, and of obedience. It was laid down as a maxim, that Britons have their liberties and properties reſerved to them by many poſitive and expreſs laws: and conſequently that they have a right to preſerve them. And it was then found neceſſary, to carry their malignant ſchemes into execution, to patronize and exert that ſtaple of the people's ſecurity, which is the ſuperiority of the legiſlative to the executive power; by which the legiſlators have

a right to reſiſt all encroachments upon the conſtitution.

THEY were very diligent in ſpying out the faults of the court; and were frequently ſo quick-ſighted as to foreſee what could never happen. His majeſty's fears for his own ſafety amidſt the ragings of a turbulent people, were interpreted an intention to levy war upon his ſubjects: his favours towards thoſe, who enliſted under his banner, were impeached of partiality and corruption: his complaints againſt the unprecedented and indecent ſpeeches of ſome incendiaries amongſt the commons, were repreſented as a breach of privilege, and dangerous to the freedom of parliament: and his innocent pleaſures were magnified into crimes deſerving of death; although he never attempted to take away the rights of his ſubjects to the highways, leading from one town to another. Was not the firſt clamor raiſed by theſe men againſt his royal perſon and government, founded upon his incloſing of Richmond new Park?

THESE men under the cloak of juſtice and religion ruined both church and ſtate. Neither intereſt with the ſovereign, nor the innocence, nor the character of his friends and ſervants, were able to ſave an arch-biſhop and a prime miniſter from the block.

BUT is it not ſtrange to hear that ſuch a race of hypocrites ſhould at laſt preach up paſſive obedience? can it be imagined that they, who have diſtinguiſhed themſelves with ſuch a ſpirit of

of reſiſtance under a government, whoſe errors perhaps were only ſuch mal-verſations, as ought to be imputed only to human frailty, and at moſt but to the ignorance, inadvertences, fears or paſſions, to which princes are ſubject as well as other men, could ever be ſo altered as to join with a miniſterial faction, when the fundamental points of government and the chief ſecurities of liberty have been in danger? Was that a crime in a king, which is a virtue in a miniſter?

WHAT would ſuch a ſet of people have done, had they been tempted with that ſtate-trick of *indulgence?* in hope of ruining the church of England they would have joined the Popiſh council, and granted the king a diſpenſing power; ſo long as their particular intereſt was favoured under his adminiſtration.

How would they have behaved in a reign, which placed its confidence in a parliament, choſen and acting under miniſterial influence? theſe good men for the ſake of being admitted into a ſhare of the ſpoil, which on ſuch occaſions is made of the people; though they forget their duty to their king; would plead conſcience for their ſubmiſſion to the dictates of his miniſters.

LET me aſk thoſe time-ſervers; who quoted ſcripture, *to bind their king in chains and their nobles with links of iron*; how they can reconcile the doctrine of obedience to a miniſter with their original tenets of taking up arms againſt

and murdering their king? the power and majeſty of the people, an original contract, the authority and independency of parliament, liberty, reſiſtence, excluſion, abdication, depoſition was the language of that very ſet of men, who have upon occaſion cried up the prerogative of the crown to the leſſening of the power, and even to the diſarming of the people; who have outlived the remembrance of an original contract, which ſets bounds to the powers, on which our conſtitution ſubſiſts; and who by their dead weight at all elections have forfeited their pretences to maintain the authority and independency of parliament. LIBERTY, which was the motto in the days of the regicides, and ſerved them to gull the people of their money and freedom, appears now to have been no other than a maſque. It is evident from their preſent behaviour, they would be willing to purchaſe a repeal of the teſt act, by conſenting to every ruinous meaſure, ſhould there happen to be a miniſter wicked enough to accept of their ſervice upon thoſe terms. Was it criminal in King Charles I. to raiſe an army of four or five thouſand Iriſh ſubjects? was that a ſufficient reaſon for the parliament to erect their ſtandard in defence of the liberties of the people? what would they? what might they have ſaid and feared, had he hired one hundred thouſand foreign mercenary ſubſidiary forces, without the conſent of a parliament, which had denied his requeſt of three thouſand men only? Can a people who

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value themſelves ſo much for their activity in ſoliciting the excluſion bill, and bringing about the revolution, join in an open attempt to weaken that very act of ſettlement by which the Proteſtant religion is eſtabliſhed? could thoſe men, do you think, Mr. Freeholder! ever from their hearts have been ſincere Proteſtants, who with all their might exclaimed againſt Popery under former kings, but preached up paſſive obedience and non-reſiſtance to a king, who had a jeſuit at the head of his council; and have diſhonoured Chriſtianity by vindicating the miniſter, who endeavoured to naturalize Judaiſm.

WHATEVER may be the pretences of theſe men, I muſt ſuſpect their ſincerity and honeſty; their loyalty and religion. Does the change of hands make any alteration in the conſtitution? Do virtue and liberty degenerate into vice and ſlavery? what is virtue at one time muſt be always virtue. And they who wreſt the guardianſhip of our liberties, out of the power appointed by our conſtitution, and truſt it to the mercy of a miniſter, may juſtly be ſuſpected of contriving their deſtruction.

SHOULD there ever come a time when theſe men, who plead conſcience for their veering about with every wind of politicks, which ſerve their own purpoſe beſt, independent of the public good, ſhall worm themſelves into power, what would become of the conſtitution? On this it may depend, whether they, who not only oppoſe the progreſs of that growing corruption,

which takes long ſtrides over the land, but endeavour to extirpate it by the roots, ſhall prevail; or they, who nouriſh and propagate it, who eat themſelves, and tempt others to eat the baneful fruit it bears. On this it may depend, whether they ſhall prevail, who oppoſe with all their intereſt and eloquence, the maintenance of a ſtanding army in time of peace; or they, who plead for it, and endeavour to make it a neceſſary part of our conſtitution. On this it may depend, whether Great Britain ſhall ſquander away her blood and wealth in the defence of foreign ſtates; or exert the utmoſt of her power in the protection of her trade and navigation, and repelling the encroachments upon her own dominions. On this it may depend, whether they ſhall prevail, who endeavour to conceal frauds, and to ſkreen delinquents in the plunder of their country, in the ruin of her credit, in the deſtruction of her trade, and in the diminiſhing of the power and dignity of the crown; or they, who employ their whole intereſt to detect the ſecret intrigues of bad miniſters and bad ſervants of the ſtate; and to bring them to condign puniſhment. And on this it may depend, whether they ſhall prevail, whoſe councils are calculated to prevent Great Britain from engaging in any quarrel that does not become her ſituation and intereſt; or they, who are eager on every occaſion to proſtitute her dignity, to pawn her purſe, and to ſacrifice her commerce, by entangling her, not only too much with the other powers of Europe, from whom ſhe may ſometimes

times want reciprocal engagements; but even with thoſe diminutive powers, from whom it would be ridiculous, to expect any aſſiſtance. Z.

No. 25. SATURDAY, *January* 24, 1756.

Soldiers are perfect Devils in their Way;
When once they're rais'd, they're curſed hard to lay. GAY.

To the FREEHOLDER.

SIR,

I AM a man of Kent, and boaſt of a pedigree from the loins of one of thoſe heroes, who ventured their lives in their country's cauſe, and preſerved their liberties from being deſtroyed by the Norman ſword. The Norman Conqueror (as he is called) entered Kent with a numerous and victorious army. But the reſolution of the men of Kent, not to ſurvive their ancient rights and privileges, ſoon diſcovered, that his ſucceſs was owing more to the people's puſillanimity, than to a want of power in the nation to defend themſelves, and oppoſe every invader. They were not averſe to ſubmit to the powers in being, or to maintain the dignity of a ſovereign: but they were determined not to become ſlaves to a mercenary army, ſent to live upon them at diſcretion, and to oblige them to be patient under every impoſition of their lordly maſters. The Conqueror did not want courage, but on this occaſion his wiſdom pre-

prevailed; and therefore inſtead of riſquing the laurels and advantages of his former military atchievements, he added to his diadem the affections of the men of Kent, by treating them like Engliſhmen; withdrawing his ſoldiers, and confirming their immunities.

SOLDIERS are the natural inſtruments of tyranny: but were never remarkable for ſecuring the affections of any people. Their education, their neceſſities, their power, render them moſt obnoxious to a free nation. It is in vain to quote the letter of the law againſt their encroachments and violence. The very laws made for their ſupport have too often furniſhed them with means of oppreſſion. What can be expected from an armed power raiſed out of the moſt neceſſitous, moſt ignorant, and vicious part of the people? is diſobedience to parents? is idleneſs? is debauchery? is ſabbath-breaking? is pilfering? is obſtinacy, or incorrigibleneſs, a proper recommendation for one to be authorized by law to be quartered upon a free-born ſubject, in a ſober induſtrious family? What ſafety? what truſt? what defence can be placed in the arms of ſuch an abandoned race, whoſe crimes have driven them to enliſt for bread, or to ſkreen them from the civil magiſtrate: whoſe paſſions hurry them to commit violence; and whoſe vices frequently render them incapable of ſervice, and always exclude them from the protection of the Lord of Hoſts. I would not be thought guilty of aggravation:

gravation: the very name and garb of a ſoldier is a terror to the innocent, and a protection for the moſt ſhameful immoralities.

CAN it be expected that men, who have forfeited their credit and reputation, and brought themſelves to the miſerable alternative of beggary, a houſe of correction, or the army, will ever ſcruple to ſupply their neceſſities at the expence of a landlord; or to bring on a more certain, though not ſo immediate a ſlavery, than an open and avowed enemy? had the Conqueror inſtead of marching his forces in a body, quartered a dozen or a ſcore of his ſoldiers in certain houſes in Kent by virtue of an act of parliament; that ſilent ſcheme would have precluded all meaſures in favour of public liberty; and enſlaved that very people, whom he could not ſubdue in the field. But, Mr. Freeholder! the crown had not then learned the art of billeting ſoldiers; or at leaſt it had been diſcontinued from the time that the Engliſh cut the throats of all the Lord-Danes in one night: and as it is very certain William II. ſecured the affections of the people, and the poſſeſſions of the crown by diſbanding his father's army: ſo we are informed, the firſt law for quartering of ſoldiers either in public or private houſes in time of peace, without the conſent of the owners, was not paſſed till about ſix hundred years after, in the reign of King William III.

FOR what purpoſe this law was then enacted, let thoſe in the ſecret of government anſwer:

no

no doubt, ſome neceſſity was pleaded ſtrongly to induce the commons to agree thereto; under ſolemn promiſes of a repeal when the exigencies of the ſtate, which then required ſuch a meaſure, ſhould ceaſe. But the continuance of this law, with ſome enforcements, for upwards of ſixty years, is a conviction of the truth of that general obſervation, 'A favourite power once granted to the crown, is 'ſeldom recovered by the ſubject, without ſome 'remarkable revolution in our government!' It muſt afford matter of ſpeculation in poſterity; for what purpoſe the hand, which ſo lately had ſigned a bill for limiting the prerogative of the crown, and aſcertaining and confirming the rights of the people of England, could add the clauſe of quartering ſoldiers to the mutiny bill; eſpecially if it had been obſerved, that about the end of the reign of King Charles II. it was by an expreſs law enacted, 'That no officer military or civil, or other perſons, ſhall quarter or billet any ſoldier upon any inhabitant of this realm without his conſent.'

By this power, a man who has been ſhunned by all ſober company; who has fled from juſtice, delights in miſchief and violence, is put in poſſeſſion of a lodging, and authorized to demand more for a groat a day, than perhaps is in his poor landlord's power to give, without ſtarving his children, or wronging his creditors. How often do we ſee theſe fourpenny boarders, in red coats, turning the family

mily out of their beds; breaking their furniture; waſting their candles; coals and beer; and devouring their victuals without mercy?

WAS this to be only at times, when the ſeat of war makes it neceſſary for every people to ſubmit to inconveniences and loſſes for the common ſafety; no part of the nation ought to repine thereat. But when peace has been given to our enemies, and theſe ſons of Mars are not only retained, but permitted to increaſe: when they, who have largely contributed, in the taxes, towards the ſucceſs of a war, ſhall be ruined by a number of ſoldiers quartered upon them in time of peace: and when particular countries and corporations are burthened with thoſe lazy, vicious, and imperious gueſts, by the appointment of men in power; who can forbear complaining? who can help pitying the diſtreſſes of thoſe, who are obliged to ſhut up their houſes and forſake their livelihood? of which, I am told, this county at preſent affords many examples.

WHAT a power would this be in the hand of a bad miniſter! how eaſy would it be for him to wreak his vengeance on a borough, city, or county, that dared to reject his recommendation of a repreſentative? though it is illegal to bring troops into the neighbourhood of an election; there is no law, as experience teacheth, to prevent an order for quartering them, in any proportion, even ſo as to oppreſs the unbiaſſed electors afterwards. And what evils would

ſuch

ſuch an order produce, when it is conſidered, that by the mutiny bill our ſoldiers are made ſlaves to their ſuperiors; and all the owners of public houſes in the kingdom may poſſibly be made ſlaves by thoſe ſlaves! it is not the firſt time that a ſmall borough, whoſe principal inhabitants were publicans or inn-keepers, has been frightened by the terrors of having a regiment of ſoldiers quartered upon them, to reject the moſt hoſpitable and honeſt gentleman in the neighbourhood, and to vote for a court-candidate, whoſe face they had never ſeen.

THEREFORE it has given me the greateſt apprehenſions for the conſequences of the great augmentation of our forces: for where there are ſuch a number of new officers created, it is certain there muſt be a proportion of common men enliſted into the land ſervice. What muſt be done with the new recruits, when we are already ſo burthened by the preſent army? if they are to be ſent abroad, what need was there for the numerous ſubſidiary armies taken into Britiſh pay? if they are to be quartered at home, it is doubtful whether they, who pay their proportion of the heavy taxes with the reſt of their fellow ſubjects, will be able to bear the burthen of the additional charge of quartering a diſcretional number of ſoldiers? and to propoſe their lodging in barracks, is at once diveſting them of that little humanity, which ſoldiers yet pick up by converſing with the

the civilized part of the world, and putting them upon erecting a military government: ſo that in every light a ſtanding army is a grievance and terror to this nation.

AN army is allowed to be a neceſſary auxiliary to a government, when the dignity of the crown, or intereſt of the ſubject call for help againſt an enemy. But an army that ſhall be kept up for many years in time of peace, that embarks in no quarrels, but ſuch as ſhall be the effects of private paſſions; and ſerve only to terrify their fellow-ſubjects, is both dangerous and oppreſſive.

THOSE armies by which our monarchs, before the reſtoration, ſo bravely defended themſelves, and which made us a terror to our enemies, were raiſed from among the people, when danger approached; but as ſoon as the danger was over, or peace returned, the army was diſbanded, and the ſoldiers obliged to repair to their uſual labour and induſtry. When men are inured to provide for their ſubſiſtance, they are better able to judge of, and to be intruſted with, the public intereſt. But, Mr. Freeholder! what added to the value of thoſe armies, was the property every ſubject had in the choice of the officers: moſt of the commanders were choſen by the Freeholders of their reſpective counties, or were ſuch as held their commands by their tenures.

HOW different is the preſent army! what conqueſts can we boaſt of? one campaign in Flanders

Flanders has coſt more money and blood, without one ſingle acquiſition, than was ſpent in the conqueſt of the whole kingdom of France. They who live by a calling, cannot be ſuppoſed to be in any great hurry to ſtop the ſources of their own gain. A mercenary army, an army compoſed of men, who cannot earn their bread in any other way, never want ſchemes to prolong their ſervice. And a miniſter who gains an additional power by the increaſe of commiſſions, will never ſlip any excuſe or opportunity to augment the national forces; or we ſhould never have been obliged to raiſe eight millions in one year to carry on a war, which in the late queen's reign was conducted with more glory, for a little more than a third of that ſum. What muſt become of a people under ſuch circumſtances? where an extenſion of m———l power muſt be ſtretched on the points of mercenary ſwords: and where the juſt complaints of a people are brought to countenance an augmentation of that military force, which is the greateſt ſubject of their diſcontent.

THE difficulty then of diſbanding an army at certain ſeaſons, does not ſo much appear to lie in the ſoldiery themſelves, as in the need, which a miniſter may have of a military force, not only to ſupport his weight in a certain houſe; but to execute his orders in the land. And what may not a bad miniſter do, when he has fifty thouſand effective men at his command? Who dare murmur at the burden of the taxes? who dare

dare oppoſe the moſt ruinous meaſures? who ſhall have the courage to reject a miniſterial candidate? or what motion can miſcarry in a parliament, over-awed by officers, if created for the ſupport of arbitrary power.

It is a mere deception to alledge the power of parliament to diſband, or even to leſſen an army of mercenaries, at pleaſure. Can it be expected that an army will ever diſband itſelf? do not we on the contrary find, that the forces of this nation have gradually increaſed, in proportion to the number and power of the military gentlemen in the great council of the nation? and a leſs powerful army than is now in Britain, has not only dethroned emperors, diſpoſed of crowns and ſcepters; but diſſolved parliaments, and payed themſelves with the ſpoils of the people.

How well did thoſe ſenators watch for the public ſafety, who were no leſs fearful of truſting the liberties of the people to mercenary troops of their own country, than to foreigners? it was a wiſe maxim in their politicks, never to ſtrengthen the hands of one part of the conſtitution, which might enable it in time to overturn the ballance of power. How artfully was the firſt ſtanding force of this nation obtained every one knows. How it has been from time to time increaſed, contrary to the moſt ſolemn promiſes and engagements, it would be too long to enumerate. The dread of Popery and French invaſions have been favourable inſtruments,

ments, which miniſters of later times made uſe of with more advantage to perſuade the people to ſubmit to their military encroachments, than their predeceſſors, before the revolution, were poſſeſſed of. By theſe means the firſt grant of ſeven thouſand ſtanding forces are now augmented to more than three times the number; and what fears may be ſtarted for their increaſe, God only knows! This is certain, ſhould their reduction depend on the vote of thoſe, who live by the ſword, they that are raiſed will in the poet's phraſe be *curſed hard to lay.* A.

I am, SIR,

Yours, &c.

A MAN OF KENT.

No. 26. SATURDAY, *January* 31, 1756.

And were y' as good as George a Green,
I ſhall make bold to turn agen:
Nor am I doubtful of the iſſue
In a juſt quarrel: and mine is ſo.

HUDIBRAS.

THE neceſſity of a war with France is granted. The encroachments the French made on our territories: their ſeizure of the

the neutral iſlands: their hoſtilities in the Eaſt and Weſt-Indies: their inſult of the Britiſh flag, however palliated with a reſtitution of a man of war, are ſo many infringements of that peace and amity, and of that treaty of trade and commerce, which have been ſolemnly agreed upon by the two crowns of Great Britain and France.

A SPIRIT of reſentment has not been wanting in our miniſtry: and the repreſentatives of the people have ſhewn their approbation thereof, by their zealous diſpatch in raiſing money to enable his Majeſty to execute every meaſure deviſed for the defence of his kingdoms and dominions, the honour and dignity of his crown, and for the reducing of the enemy to proper terms of ſatisfaction.

THE numerous prizes brought into our ports have diſtreſſed the enemy; prevented the execution of their treacherous ſchemes, to circumſcribe our colonies; and convinced them of a revival of that Britiſh ſpirit and wiſdom, for which our anceſtors were moſt worthy of praiſe, when they rejected inſidious negotiations, and by force of arms exacted that ſatisfaction, which nature had dictated, good policy required, and their perfidious friends made neceſſary for them to take.

BUT there are ſeveral reaſons for diſguſt. The French complain heavily that they are attacked without a declaration of war. The good people of Britain are far from being ſatisfied

with tantalizing them at the ſight of a great number of prizes laid up in our harbours, without diſpoſing of the ſhips and cargoes for the uſe and benefit of the public.

EITHER repriſals are lawful, or they are not. Their legality was never called in queſtion, either by France or Spain, when the injuries of the ſubjects made them neceſſary under our Edward's, Henry's, Elizabeth, or even under the uſurpation of Oliver Cromwell. And when a power or ſtate in pretended amity with another is detected in hoſtile actions, the law of reprizals becomes the law of ſelf-preſervation, and the immediate relief of the injured ſtate; till the open violence of the aggreſſors ſhall make it neceſſary to proclaim the national quarrel, and the cauſes thereof. In the mean time the loſers have a right to demand juſtice in the diſpoſal of their ſhips and cargoes; and the balance, if any thing remains above the damages. Again, the captors will always be loſers, and ſuſpected of partiality and injuſtice, if they permit them to periſh. They that preſume on their own ſtrength, and are determined to fight their way, muſt ſubmit to the fate of arms: if they ſink under the power of the attack, they have no remedy: but ſuch as yield to the word of command, and accept of quarter, have a right to the law of arms.

WOULD not the ſale of theſe prizes produce a large ſum towards the diſcharge of the vaſt expence, which we have been put to in the

preſent armament? ſhould not this have been done? ſhould not the price of thoſe captures have been depoſited in the Exchequer before the miniſter contrived new ways and means to raiſe the immenſe ſum of ſix millions and upwards for the preſent exigencies; beſides what perhaps, for a royal m———e and the P—— of W——s's houſhold may be demanded hereafter, before the cloſe of the ſeſſion? Is a war not reſolved upon? why then ſuch a hurry to raiſe money on the ſubject? if it be inevitable: why do we appear to doubt; or fail in the proper execution of thoſe means providence has put into our hands? France never acted with ſuch precaution. It is a maxim with them to take all advantages, and to keep no faith of treaties, when they can execute their plan with impunity, or little hazard.

The French have acted with great prudence for the eaſe of the ſubject. For though they have patiently looked on the havock we have made with their ſhipping and Weſt-India trade; the loſs to the ſtate thereby is very inſignificant, when ſtated with the millions it has already coſt this nation to ſhew our power, without making our advantage thereof.

Why did we arm? to oblige the French to fulfil their treaties, and to evacuate our colonies. Have they complied? do they ſay, they will ſubmit to juſtice? are they diſpoſed to be content with their own poſſeſſions? no: why then do we procraſtinate thoſe operations, which our circumſtances call upon us to execute; and

our ſtrength enables us to perform with viſible ſucceſs? delays in ſuch a criſis will not only encourage our enemies with a belief, that we either want conduct or honeſty amongſt ourſelves: or they will ſooner or later create a ſuſpicion at home, that the large taxes, the expenſive lotteries, and the prize money will be miſapplied. If the former gains credit, we not only expoſe the nation and its dependencies to the policy of France; waſte and conſume our riches and power in parade and hectoring; but become the reproach and ridicule of all Europe: and ſhould there appear any juſt reaſon for the latter, what confuſion might it ſpread amongſt a diſappointed, deceived, and oppreſſed people?

SHOULD it ever be conceived, that the art of King Charles the IId's miniſtry was revived, to make uſe of foreign quarrels, only with an intention to fleece his ſubjects? and to protract accommodations or treaties purely to gain time, and to have a pretence for aſking and preſſing money-bills? ſhould there come a miniſtry ſo ambitious, baſe, and mercenary, as to urge the neceſſities of the ſtate, and the danger of a foreign enemy, purely to drain the riches of a nation? and to countenance their raiſing a numerous army at home, and a more numerous ſubſidiary force abroad, at their ſole command? what would become of Britain's public liberty? I am no ways fearful of ſuch intentions at preſent. But an army of fifty thouſand mercenaries in Great-Britain, another of one hundred thouſand

thouſand ſubſidiary mercenaries in Britiſh pay; and forty-five thouſand ſailors, with a fleet in proportion well equipped, would be a dangerous proſpect at a time of inactivity.

THERE is a very wide difference between the happy ſtate of peace and tranquillity, and a dead calm. It, no doubt, is praiſe-worthy to be prepared againſt the enemy; but to carry an outward face of ſerenity; to keep any meaſures with a foe that has attacked us; to maintain a vaſt army and fleet for ſeveral months, without doing all that might be expected from ſuch a force, is giving the enemy time to counter-act the wiſeſt reſolutions, and to ſtrengthen himſelf againſt all events.

Now, whether this method of acting may be compared to a conſumption or a raging fever, or to ſome other diſeaſe of the human body, which ſhame, or ſome other motive inclines people, paſt all hopes, to conceal, I do not preſume to determine. But it may be allowed, from the natural ſymptoms of theſe maladies, to form a judgment of their danger in a political ſenſe. The ſtate, which labours under the former, is ſeldom convinced of its diſſolution, till it is almoſt expiring. A political fever, like a natural one, is apt to bear a florid countenance, and to throw a falſe appearance of health into the face of a country. And ſhould the body politic be cankered with corruption, it might be pronounced infected by that ſcandalous diſeaſe, the French pox, which every

one would hide, if he could, except he be paſt all ſhame: but it will ſome time diſcover itſelf in ulcers and blotches, notwithſtanding all their quackery to conceal it: and when it once comes to a head, it is ſeldom thoroughly cured.

ATHENS and Rome, the two moſt famous commonwealths both for their wiſdom and power, were deſtroyed by theſe diſtempers. The ſappers of their liberties, by debauching their morals, and corrupting them with largeſſes, eaſily perſuaded the people that their countries were never in more flouriſhing circumſtances: they alſo flattered them from a repreſentation of the glorious victories obtained abroad by their brave, noble, and diſintereſted anceſtors, into a belief that they were really invincible abroad, and that their ancient ſpirit would exert itſelf at home, if their liberties ſhould ever be attacked. But theſe foils of tyranny ſerv'd only to reduce the deceived people into a ſtate of ſecurity; in which they ſlumbered, till it was too late to ward off the blow, that made them ſlaves.

SHOULD it be aſked; to what purpoſe is all this reaſoning? does it bear any analogy with our caſe at preſent? I anſwer no: and God forbid it ever ſhould! for then our liberties would be in the utmoſt peril.

BUT I cannot be ſo complaiſant as to agree with thoſe, who extol every meaſure of a miniſtry. I applaud their vigour at ſea: but they might have done more for their ſubjects in America

merica by land. I approve of their beginning with making repriſals; becauſe that was a proof of their intentions not to be baffled by fruitleſs and fallacious negotiations; and to leave it in the power of the adverſary, to prevent matters coming to an extremity, by an equitable agreement: but when a nation has been injured in its property, when it has been inſulted, when its moſt valuable rights have been not only invaded, but expreſſly denied, and kept by force of arms, what ſhall be ſaid, if there follows no declaration of war?

THE French, though in this ſeaſon of inactivity, are wiſe enough to ſave the expence of keeping up a ſupernumerous army by ſea and land; while we are laviſhing away ſix months pay upon the largeſt fleet that ever ploughed the ſeas, at a time there is no enemy to face them; they do not pretend to conceal their reſolution to act offenſively: they rather ſeem diſpoſed to remove all doubts about it from our thoughts, and to make it appear, not that they really intend to break with us, but that a war on their part is determined, and not to be avoided. Do not we know that they are forming a ſtrength of intereſts, entering into ſecret engagements, and that thoſe engagements are pointed directly and particularly at the intereſt of Great Britain? and at the perſon, honour, and royal dignity of his Britannic Majeſty? Do we not find them attempting ſchemes deſtructive to the commerce of theſe kingdoms? Do not

not they even threaten us with an invaſion? and concert meaſures for the fomenting diviſions, feuds and factions among the people? have they not entered Virginia and Philadelphia, New England and Nova Scotia, with force and arms; and committed ſuch violence and barbarities, which are ſhocking to human nature? and this nation has more than once bled by the rebellious ſword, ſharpened by the policy of France in the time of peace.

If theſe things are true: if they are of ſuch a nature, as not to be overlook'd: if they are the cauſes of our preſent armament: if they are injuries to be reſented with the utmoſt indignation: if France knows we are reſolved to ſhew our reſentment; we muſt believe, that they are likewiſe in earneſt to quarrel, and to begin with Great Britain.

Therefore, to ſuppoſe that any miniſtry in ſuch circumſtances, could reſt contented with reprizals only, would be to involve them in that irreſolute conduct, of which the nation had too many deſtructive examples under the adminiſtrations of the grand corruptor-general, and the two B———rs, his ſucceſſors. To avoid the like imputation, the enemy muſt be treated in their own way. War is their reſolution. And though they would attempt to force us to a declaration, in order to fix the breach of peace upon Britain; there can be no good policy in heſitating. For do they not put things upon us, which no nation ought to bear;

bear; and which, they know, no powerful nation under a wiſe and honeſt government will bear? they then are the firſt movers and the cauſe of the war, let who will declare it.

THE right we muſt contend for ought to be very conſiderable, if it be in proportion to the expence of the nation. And it is no leſs than the right to the whole trade and poſſeſſion of our American colonies; the loſs of which would ſoon deprive their mother-country of its ſplendor and power. What then can delay our moſt vigorous attacks on every part of our enemy's dominions, where-ever we can hurt them, or gain advantage to ourſelves? This is the right and only way to bring them to equitable terms. But if we continue in the languid meaſure only to make repriſals, we expoſe ourſelves to the obliquy of the aggreſſor; and ſhall never be able to accompliſh the juſt and deſirable end; but always leave the enemy an opportunity to proteſt againſt our proceedings; and to inſiſt upon a claim, which might be intirely quaſhed by conqueſt and a peace. 'Till then Britannia ought never to ſheath the ſword.

Z.

No. 27.

No. 27. SATURDAY, *February* 7th, 1756.

Talis igitur vir & civis opinione labi poteſt, voluntate à republica diſſidere nullo pacto poteſt.
CIC. PHIL. decima tertia.

To the FREEHOLDER.

SIR,

WHEN peace and proſperity ſmile upon a land, and things glide on like a gentle ſtream, with a ſmooth and unbroken courſe; a man, who obeys the laws of his country, is juſtly reputed a good citizen. But is this a competent teſt, when the ſcene is reverſed; when a nation is diſtreſſed, its liberty in danger? No! ſuch a criſis calls for a reſolute and ſelf-denying conduct: ſuch times demand a ſacrifice of every private intereſt to the public good; and the man, who has not virtue enough to make ſuch a ſacrifice, whatever he was thought before, or whatever he may think himſelf, has a rotten part in his heart, and is no better at the bottom than a diſguiſed traytor.

SUCH was the ſituation of Rome at the period my motto refers to: ſhe had lain near four years bleeding at Cæſar's feet of the wounds he had given her: bleeding, do I ſay? ſhe was actually dead: for, altho' the carcaſs remained, the ſoul was departed. But Cæſar was now no more.

He

He fell a victim on the ides of March to the *manes* of liberty; and the ſame dagger, that let out his ſpirit, opened a paſſage for the ſpirit of the republic to return. Had the ſenate then in that critical conjuncture acted a true Roman part; had it preſerved its dignity, and proved itſelf worthy of the truſt committed to it for the good of the people, the republic might by degrees have revived, and her conſtitution have recovered its priſtine vigour.

But, alas! what was the Roman ſenate at that time? a beggarly, corrupt and ſervile ſet of men, two thirds of them appointed by Cæſar; abſolutely his creatures, and equally ready to be the creatures of any other proſperous uſurper: this Antony knew; this tempted him to play the game his maſter had done before; and ſince there was not virtue enough left to preſerve the nation free; ſince Rome muſt fall; why may not Antony (cries ambition) be the ſecond Cæſar? — Fired with this idea, after ſome artful diſſimulation, to gain time and form his plan, Antony appeared in open arms, and both deſpiſed and defied the ſenate. The ſenate in this tickliſh ſituation of things, after much diviſion, debating, and wrangling, came to a reſolution at laſt, and voted him an enemy to his country. Young Octavius, like a new ſtar, ſhone out all at once, to the ſurprize of every body, and declared for the republic. Antony at length, after various turns and ſtruggles of fortune, was irretrievably routed at the battle of Actium; and

Octavius

Octavius remaining without a rival became ſole and abſolute maſter of the whole Roman empire.

AFTER this deciſive victory, returning to Rome, he entertained thoughts of laying down his laurels at the feet of the ſenate, and reſtoring the old conſtitution. In ſo nice a point he conſulted his two able friends, Agrippa and Mæcenas; Agrippa, like a true republican, adviſed a free and generous reſignation; Mæcenas, like a true courtier, the contrary; urging withal, that he could not do it with ſecurity to his perſon; and that the peace and welfare of the empire, in the preſent temper of the times, made it abſolutely neceſſary, that the ſupreme power ſhould be lodged in a ſingle perſon: this opinion flattering the ruling paſſion of Octavius, he began to refit thoſe chains his country had wore under his father Julius, and by a refined policy rivetted them in a little time ſo cloſe, that the fate of its liberty was ſealed for ever.

BUT was not this an amazing revolution? is it not incredible, that a republic, which had ſtood near five ages, and like a prodigious torrent, ſwept all before it, ſhould at once become the eaſy captive of ſo young a hero? Not at all! She was full ripe and prepared for ſervitude: conqueſt had imported riches; riches begat luxury; luxury every kind of vice; vice beggary; beggary dependance; dependance ſlavery. Thus hangs the chain; and whenſoever any other free ſtate is equally degenerate, it muſt follow the fate of Rome. Full of theſe ideas the hour of reſt

reſt called me to bed, and as my night ſleep was of a piece with them, you will pardon me, Mr. Freeholder, in giving you a ſketch of it.

No ſooner had the drowſy god ſhaked his downy pinions over my eye-lids, than I fell into a ſound ſleep, and fancied myſelf ſtanding upon the brow of a hill, which looked down upon a vaſt city. The towers, the ſpires, and other raiſed buildings gave me an unexperienced delight, as I had never ſeen ſuch a place before, and brought to my mind the ſimple ſhepherd, who fancied Rome like unto his little Mantua;

Stultus ego huic noſtræ ſimilem.

upon this hill ſtood a magnificent pile, which I gueſſed to be a temple; and coming up to it to view the architecture, I ſpied in a nich over the entrance a female ſtatue, which I ſuppoſed the deity of the place: ſhe had in her air and look ſomewhat maſculine and determined; a whip in her right hand, raiſed aloft; and on a narrow plane beneath her feet was this inſcription,

Odi profanum vulgus, & arceo.

I felt on a ſudden my blood chilled, and ſaid, or ſeemed to ſay; Lord! where am I? it is certainly ſacred ground I tread; and I'll get off as faſt as I can. The moment of this trepidation my watchful genius twitched my ear; and ſoftly whiſpered; ſon! take heart; you are not in that contemptible claſs of mortals, who are forbid to enter. The building you behold is the temple of virtue, and I adviſe you to go in: you will

find there many uſeful leſſons, and if you bring them home to your own breaſt, your curioſity, I promiſe you, will be amply recompenſed.

THUS encouraged I knocked boldly; the door was immediately unlocked, and a venerable old man made his bow: Sir! ſaid I; may I have leave to walk in? you are welcome, Sir! my office is to look after the temple, and attend ſtrangers; and if you are at a loſs in decypher-ing any of the deſigns, you may freely com-mand my aſſiſtance. We walked together; I ſtood here; I pauſed there; indulging admira-tion; for the furniture was very extraordinary and quite new to me. It would exceed, Mr. Freeholder! the meaſure of your paper to give the particulars; you muſt excuſe me then for ſaying in the groſs; that the cieling, the com-partments between the windows, were all co-vered with ſculpture-devices, or pictures, cal-culated to inſpire public morality, or inculcate ſome ſcience, art, or profeſſion, of importance to ſociety, or an honour to the human ſpecies. There was, however, one picture of a large ſize and ſingular compoſition, that fixed my atten-tion above all the reſt, and it puzzling me ex-tremely I ſaid to my guide, I ſhall be much obliged, if you pleaſe to explain it to me; for, although I think, I underſtand the other deſigns tolerably well, yet in this I muſt confeſs myſelf quite at a loſs. Agricola, replies Neſtor; for to a-void too much Sir-ing, I ſhall occaſionally uſe theſe names; I will give you the beſt account of it I can;

can; and although I am not poſitive of hitting every intended meaning, yet upon the whole I believe, I ſhall not be much wide of the mark.

RAISING then his cane, and waving it to and fro; the canvaſs you ſee, Sir! is divided into three compartments, or incloſures, ſeparated from each other by a ſoft ſhade. In the middle one behold a venerable oak, and at the foot of it a woman ſitting, in the air and attitude of ſorrow; her look melancholy, her head pendent; ſhe puts me in mind of captive Judæa, weeping under her palm: at her feet lies the ſea in undulating waves; Neptune preſents to her a coral-crown with one hand, as in the other he graſps his trident: this acknowledges her queen of the ſeas; though in a proper ſubordination to his divine empire. You know the figure, Agricola! O Sir! ſhe ſpeaks herſelf; it is Britannia: but tell me, Neſtor, if you can, the cauſe of this change in her countenance; ſhe uſed to wear a chearful face: has calamity? has ill uſage ſpoiled her beauty? and pray too; what is the meaning of that ſoft ſmile, which breaks through the gloom, and is graciouſly caſt towards the right incloſure?

YOU come thick upon me, Agricola! but I will anſwer your queries as diſtinctly as I can: as to calamity, I know none, at leaſt none very important, that has befallen her of late: but ill uſage ſhe is reported to have received, and great perils certainly hang over her head; this ſolves her melancholy. The ſmile imports complacency

cency and confidence in the perſons ſhe looks upon; and in truth they are all her very good friends, and have not long ſince eminently ſignalized themſelves in her intereſt: well, Neſtor! but there ſeems ſomewhat ſingular in the economy, or diſpoſition of the figures; the bulk are repreſented in a group; but there are a few at a little diſtance diſtinctly expreſſed; and among theſe one is diſtinguiſhed from the reſt by a white ribbon with a medal hanging to it: and there is a ſhield beſides, on which he leans his right hand; as the other is ſpread and extended, as in the action of ſpeaking. I obſerve too, there is a legend on the medal; a motto to the arms; but at this diſtance I can't well read them: Sir! the legend is — *Diviſos orbe Britannos*; — The motto;

Ingenium cui ſit, cui mens divinior, atque os
Magna ſonaturum ———

Theſe emblems, Neſtor, or whatever elſe they may be called, ſeem very peculiar and characteriſtic. They do; they are ſo, but you muſt excuſe me at preſent; the ſolution will come in moſt naturally, after we have gone through the left incloſure. Moving then his cane that way, the firſt figure he pointed to was the figure of Fortune, blind, and ſtanding upon a round ſtone, nicely balanced upon one foot. Her want of eyes, Agricola, ſays he, is nothing new; but what ſay you to her ſtation? that is not com-

mon: but it is in my opinion a well fancied emblem, and ſtrongly conveys the idea of her inſtability: I think ſo too, Neſtor, but what buſineſs has ſhe there? be patient, good Sir, you will have it preſently.

THE next thing worthy of your attention is the hand ſtretched a little beyond a curtain half drawn, and ſuſpending a map. Examine, Agricola, that map, it is the main key to the whole deſign: Pray what do you note there? I ſee an iſland; I ſee a large ſlice of the continent; I ſee between them a boat with two perſons in it; one has faſtened to the iſland a golden chain, and ſeems dealing it out, as the other rows towards the continent; this appears to me very odd and fanciful: what? is it a floating iſland, like the ancient Delos, and going to be towed to the main land? tell me, Sir, I beſeech you, what the project is; for I proteſt, I am quite aground. The iſland, replies Nector, is as fixed as the continent itſelf; and ſome have conjectured it to be a fragment of it, ſtruck off in the days of yore by a blow of Neptune's trident. But—ſuch a maſſy gold chain (it is not like your ſheriff's puny bawbles) has infinite ſtrength, and will drag every thing after it, moveable or immoveable. Sir, ſays I, ſpare your riddles; be a little more explicit. Why then, Agricola! If I muſt be plain; in a ſtrict and philoſophical ſenſe the iſland is immoveable; but in a political ſenſe it is not: That is, you may ſuppoſe it moved, and faſtened to the continent, and form a ſyſtem of

politicks upon that hypotheſis. True, there are no bounds to fancy: but will it not be, *toto genere*, different from her true ſyſtem, as ſhe is in fact an iſland? ſo it ſhould ſeem indeed; but a great man behind the curtain, whoſe hand you ſee, aſſerts the direct contrary; and that the iſland in its preſent circumſtances cannot ſtand firm without this new connection; and values himſelf not a little upon being the projector. This matter, as I have been informed, was warmly debated, but the arguments on both ſides are too many to inſert: one objection however, which I have never heard competently anſwered, is this; that the encumbered eſtate of the iſland cannot bear the expence of this chain, unleſs the contriver of it turns alchymiſt, and is ſo fortunate as to diſcover the philoſopher's ſtone, and keeps the ſecret for the benefit of the nation: be that as it may; the chain was beſpoke, but as it could not be fixed, nor indeed paid for without the conſent of the perſons in that large group, which forms a ſea of heads and faces, it was neceſſary to conſult them in ſo nice a point.

In ſo large a number you muſt ſuppoſe ſome men of parts, capable of examining the matter to the bottom; though by the bye I cannot help noting, the painter has given many of them the plump, round, unmeaning face; they did examine it, but whether without biaſs, I will not take upon me to ſay; becauſe the hand is ſaid to have addreſſed them thus; — The hand, Neſtor!

ſtor! yes, the hand: why may it not have a tongue now, as well as in Æſop's time? the hand, I ſay, is reported to have addreſſed them thus; —

GENTLEMEN, the project delineated in this little chart, is, I aſſure you, all things conſidered, as delicate a *Fineſſe* in politicks, as has been played for many a year, it is true Machiavelian; and though I am not at liberty to give you all my reaſons; for I muſt not violate the laws of the cabinet, I hope you will take my word for it: I am your old maſter, have never impoſed upon you; and the unanimity, with which you have honoured my former ſchemes, will not, I truſt, be wanting to this. However, I preſs no man: uſe your liberty, Gentlemen, follow your own judgment. But—behold the figure of fortune! if I touch the globe ſhe ſtands upon, though with my little finger only, it inſtantly moves, and lo! ſhe immediately falls to the ground. Was not this a round hint? O Sir! perfectly round: and it is eaſy to gueſs at the effect. But there is another way, Agricola! of ſolving the complaiſance of thoſe fine gentry: look at thoſe three figures behind them: what do you take them to be? by their dreſs and airs they look like harlots: but tell me, Neſtor! what they really are. One is Incontinence with a ſharp goad in her hand: the ſecond is Luxury, with her gold cordial in a glaſs: the third is Flattery graſping a feather, to tickle thoſe, who have more delicate nerves. Theſe ladies are

reigning toaſts, and the man, who has reſolution to withſtand their united charms, muſt be armed, I aſſure you, with as ſtubborn a virtue, as Cato.

But had none the courage and virtue to do it? is the dignity of human nature; is the Britiſh ſpirit ſo ſunk, that none durſt laugh at the figure of fortune, and oppoſe the bubble of the chain? not ſo bad as that, replies Neſtor, all in the right encloſure are examples to the contrary: nay! the few gentlemen, that ſtand at a little diſtance from the reſt, were ſo convinced of the weakneſs, if not the iniquity of this new meaſure, that they hazarded; nay, they knew, they muſt infallibly loſe their great poſts in the iſland, if they oppoſed it; nevertheleſs they did oppoſe it; and that with as much intrepidity and firmneſs, as the reſt who ſtaked nothing but thoſe two trifles, reputation and peace of mind: that gentleman more eſpecially, whom the artiſt has ſo juſtly decorated, and whoſe ſtory I was forced to break off abruptly, as it comes in more properly here.

Pray, good Sir! what poſt might that perſon hold? He was military Quæſtor; one of the moſt lucrative in the ſtate? and is he turned out, or in the ſofter ſtile of courts, had he leave to reſign? Yes, but for what? for negligence? for inability? his worſt enemies do not tax him of either: for mal-practices? No. Never were cleaner hands. Nay! his delicacy went ſo far, as to reject perquiſites, which cuſtom, that gainful

ful rule of placemen, had ſanctified; becauſe he thought them ungenerous at leaſt, if not unjuſt. For what then was he diſplaced; for expoſing this new bubble? The world ſays ſo; and common fame, you know, is ſufficient to bear out a painter's fable, as well as a poet's. But the gentleman, perchance, has a great private fortune: the contrary is believed; and therefore the part he has acted is the more heroic. But was not this Quæſtor, lately in the left incloſure, and at the head of that large group? He was; and no doubt would have been glad to have continued there, could he have done it conſiſtently with his duty to his country; and indeed I wonder a little, our great politician would part with ſo able a man, for differing from him in a ſingle point, in times ſo embroiled as theſe: nay! I wonder, how he durſt: ſuppoſe his genius and eloquence, which the motto on the ſhield refers to, ſhould be turned againſt him; ſuppoſe in his retirement he ſhould turn biographer, draw the picture of our noble pilot, at full length, in his ſtrong lines and colours; what a figure will he make in the eyes of poſterity? O Neſtor! cries Agricola! ſpare your wonder; you cannot conceive, how daring, how inſenſible, long poſſeſſion of power makes a little mind: he lives upon preſent moments, and, provided he can keep his ſtation at the helm, cares not what poſterity may think or ſay of him: beſides, you know his motto,—*Defendit numerus*; —Well, Neſtor! after ſuch a ſacrifice of private

deſtruction of EARTHQUAKES; but alſo to implore the divine bleſſing and aſſiſtance in the preſent ſituation of PUBLIC AFFAIRS; whoſe *iſſue is of the higheſt importance to the peace and ſafety of theſe kingdoms, to our commerce and liberties*, and, above all, to the moſt valuable bleſſing of the *Proteſtant religion*: I ſay this awful and intereſting occaſion, enforced in ſo pathetic and powerful a manner from the throne, perſuaded me that the *faſt* of *Niniveh* would be renewed in the *Britiſh Capital*.

IT was great ſatisfaction to every religious heart, and no leſs pleaſing to thoſe, who pay a juſt regard to the powers in being, and ſincerely deſire the bleſſings of peace and of the Proteſtant religion, to ſee this Faſt obſerv'd with that ſolemn and Chriſtian deportment in all our churches, as the cauſe thereof required. Where majeſty appeared arrayed with the brighteſt luſtre before the King of Kings: and both houſes of parliament never ſhone more illuſtrious, than at this ſolemnity, before the altar. No age, nor condition; no party, nor religion pretended to be exempt from this univerſal obligation. The Papiſts, Diſſenters of all denominations, the Methodiſts, and even the Jews ſolemnized the day with acts of humiliation and works of mercy.

THE courts of judicature were ſilent: no cauſe was that day pleaded but the national protection before the Lord. The public offices, the cuſtoms, the exciſe, the exchange, and the very exchequer

exchequer were not open: the merchants, the manufacturers, the tradeſmen and labourers; nay, the very common ſoldiers were impreſſed with ſuch a ſenſe of their Chriſtian calling to obey the royal authority, commanding them to ceaſe from all worldly employments, and to exerciſe their Chriſtian profeſſion by faſting and prayer, that, not only the markets were adjourned, the ſhops, nay the very ſtews and brothels were ſhut up; but in this moſt populous city, I am told, there was no appearance of any worldly traffic, except amongſt a ſet of people, diſtinguiſhed by the name of *Quakers*.

If this be true, Mr. Monitor! what idea muſt foreign nations conceive of a ſtate that tolerates a people, who run counter to the greateſt examples; and diſobey the authority, by which they are protected? what jealouſies does it create in our minds to be connected with a people that will neither obey their God nor their King? had the Jews opened their ſhops, and frequented their daily labour, would it not have been interpreted a contempt of a Chriſtian ordinance? had the Papiſts and Nonjurors made it a day of pleaſure and entertainment, would not they have been deſervedly branded with diſaffection? had the Methodiſts neglected this neceſſary duty, under a vain pretence of a more perfect way to appeaſe the wrath of God, and to interceed for his protection and aid; would they not have incurred the cenſure of all well wiſhers

to

to our happy eſtabliſhment both in church and ſtate?

WHAT then can be urged in defence of theſe Quakers, who, in contempt of his majeſty's proclamation; in oppoſition to the univerſal abſtinence from lucrative and worldly employs, and unmoved at the imminent deſtruction from which the Almighty has preſerved us, and which our enemies are contriving to bring upon this nation, were the only ſubjects that appeared inſenſible of the public danger, or not deſirous of the public good?

IT is unſcriptural to ſuppoſe any one can ſerve both God and Mammon. And can they be ſaid to ſerve the Lord in faſting, and weeping and praying, who at the time of public calamities, and general mourning, are taken up in their daily practices of acquiring the riches of this world only? and it is very near bordering upon rebellion, not to comply with ſuch regulations of a government, as are calculated for God's glory and the public ſafety.

THERE can be no great expectations of loyalty and religion from a people, who are deaf to the voice of their ſovereign; and prefer the advantages of this world, and their peculiar humour or inventions, to the intereſt we ought to ſeek in God by faſting and prayer; and to the example of the great, the learned, and the devout.

WHAT could an earthly prince ſay more to engage all his ſubjects to accompany him to the footſtool of the Almighty? than to declare, that the

the reaſon of his proclaiming a *general* and *public* faſt was, that both He and His *people*, might *humble themſelves before Almighty God, and in a moſt devout* and *ſolemn manner, ſend up* their *prayers and ſupplications to the divine majeſty, to avert* juſt *judgments*, to *continue his mercies, to perpetuate the enjoyment of the Proteſtant religion among us, and ſafety and proſperity to theſe kingdoms and dominions; and to implore his protection and bleſſing upon our fleets and armies.* Was there any token of humiliation amongſt the Quakers? where was their devotion? in what manner did they keep the faſt? inſtead of prayers and ſupplications to the Divine Majeſty, they were labouring for the Mammon of unrighteouſneſs. Neither decency towards their neighbours, nor regard for their king; nor yet the terrors of the Lord, which are abroad upon the earth, could work upon their ſtubborn, unruly, and hardened hearts. Their ſhop was their temple! and their gain was their God!

Is it not a ſhocking circumſtance to be connected with a people, that are neither to be moved by judgments, nor engaged by mercies, to perform acts of devotion, and to pray for the welfare of the ſociety, whereunto they belong? can there be any credit given to their future profeſſions in favour of the Proteſtant religion, who refuſed, on this ſolemn occaſion, to pray for its perpetuity among us? does not ſuch a behaviour countenance the ſuſpicion that Quakeriſm is continued by the ſame jeſuitical poli-

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cy, with which it was firſt broached in this iſland? and that it has not cleared itſelf of the blaſphemy for which *James Nailor*, the aſſociate of *George Fox*, their patriarch, was puniſhed?

Is not there reaſon to ſuſpect the loyalty, as well as religion of a people, who would not, in a *devout and ſolemn manner*, humble themſelves, and ſend up their prayers and ſupplications by the command and example of their king, to the Divine Majeſty, for the ſafety and proſperity of his kingdoms and dominions? and does not any evaſion or equivocation to excuſe their contempt, or neglect of ſo religious and neceſſary a duty, as at this time to implore the Almighty's protection and bleſſing upon our fleets and armies, call aloud upon the government to examine into thoſe principles, upon which they pretend to maintain ſuch abſurd and dangerous doctrines, and what, in other ſubjects, would be juſtly ſuſpected of diſaffection, and a ripeneſs to join in the firſt act of rebellion? not to pray for our fleets and armies is the next ſtep to refuſing the neceſſary taxes to maintain them; which, according to our information from America, is already the caſe, where theſe Quakers think they can act with impunity: and there is no ſtep between ſuch a refuſal, and the betraying of their country to the firſt invader.

Yet theſe are the people! who have been in many inſtances diſtinguiſhed by the royal favour;

favour; and in many particulars permitted by the legiſlature to enjoy privileges denied to their fellow ſubjects: whoſe conſcience will not permit them to take an oath! and whoſe plea is for the ſpirit of Chriſtianity, and for the light within!

I SHALL only beg leave to aſk, whether you think a people who have a right to ſeek for the protection of their property and lives, are not obliged to ſubmit to the ordinances of that power, by whom they are protected, when thoſe ordinances do not claſh with the commandments of God, nor with the liberties of the ſubject? whether the meaſure of a ſubject's obedience is not to be confined within the limits of the law? whether it is not more criminal, in *foro conſcientiæ*, to forfeit our allegiance by an obſtinate refractorineſs to the command of a ſupreme governor, than to take an oath in a judicial way for the confirmation of a truth? whether the ſpirit of Chriſtianity is more viſible in wearing a broad-brim'd hat, a plain coat, or a green apron, than in the outward forms of humiliation, and other poſitive inſtitutions in the Chriſtian church? or, whether that light within, the *ne plus ultra* of all enthuſiaſts, who have ſo many innovations to patronize under that preſumption, is not a perverſe ambitious paſſion, which delights in ſingularity, and ſacrifices every conſideration, both human and divine, to an unmeaning obſtinacy?

BUT

BUT what can be expected from a people, who, under the plea of being guided by the ſpirit, reject the two ſacraments of Chriſt's own inſtitution; and who are, as far as they do ſo, unworthy of the name of Chriſtians? who ſkreening their unjuſtifiable proceedings under the ſacred name of conſcience and toleration, make uſe of liberty, as a cloak to cover their impiety and diſobedience. For, no one can plead the act of toleration for doctrines, tenets, and deeds, which tend to the overthrow of religion, and the authority of that government under which he lives. And I can harbour but a very contemptible opinion of them, whoſe chief pride lies in an obſtinate perſeverance in their own inventions, and in an oppoſition to all other inſtitutions, both eccleſiaſtic and civil.

THIS is very diſtant from the real ſpirit of Chriſt and of his diſciples; which is to give Cæſar his due: to obey thoſe that are in authority: to ſubmit to every ordinance of man for the Lord's ſake: to mourn with them that mourn: to faſt and pray leſt we enter into temptation: and not to confine the light, as in a dark lanthorn; but, to let it ſo ſhine before men, that they may ſee our good works, and glorify our Father, which is in Heaven.

IT is not the place of a Monitor to puniſh; but to exert all his faculties with a view to deter evil-doers from proceeding in their wickedneſs, and to reclaim thoſe, whoſe hearts are not already given up to a reprobate ſenſe. Therefore, as in the midſt of judgment, it is the Chriſtian

Chriſtian ſpirit to ſhew mercy; where there appears any token of repentance and amendment; I do not perſuade you to ſound the trumpet of perſecution: a term, which theſe Quakers have made uſe of with great ſucceſs, to extort extraordinary privileges from the clemency of the ſtate: but, as a friend to ſociety, and an enemy to no perſon, I believe that it can be no breach of chriſtian charity, nor any force upon a Chriſtian conſcience, to call them to a remembrance of their duty to *fear God*, and to *honour the King*; and to aſk them, how they can reconcile their contempt, or neglect of the religious obſervance of the late faſt, with that authority; which, in the moſt ſolemn manner, for their preſent and eternal welfare, called upon them, and enjoined it, as they tender the favour of Almighty God; and upon pain of ſuffering the puniſhment, as they deſerve, who reſiſt, or contemn the powers, ordained of God for the puniſhment of evil-doers?

HAD the occaſion alledged been confined only to the mournful object of earthquakes, which have wrought ſo great deſtruction abroad, and viſited ſeveral parts of the Britiſh dominions, humanity, the bowels of Chriſtian compaſſion, and a true ſenſe of God's mercy, which has ſo wonderfully protected and preſerved us from imminent deſtruction, ſhould have produced ſome religious acts towards our Maker: but when the precarious ſituation of our public national affairs; when our peace,

ſafety, commerce, liberties, and the very light of the goſpel, were alſo made a neceſſary part of the duty; what ſhame muſt they take to themſelves, who contemned or neglected ſo intereſting and important an act of religion!

Is not this a ſpecimen of that ſpirit, which has ſo lately reduced Penſilvania to the brink of deſtruction, expoſed that country to the common enemy, and deſerted their Proteſtant neighbours to be cruelly butchered by the knives of ſavage Indians?

All then that I would have propoſed to reform this evil ſpirit, is, that they ſhall either confeſs their abhorrence of their late diſobedience and contempt of the royal proclamation, and promiſe their future ſtrict conformity to ſuch ordinances of the ſtate, from which they are not excuſed by the law; or that his majeſty will be pleaſed to maintain the honour and dignity of his crown, the force of his laws, and the dignity of the Chriſtian name among Proteſtants, by inflicting ſuch puniſhment, as he may juſtly do, upon all ſuch as have contemned or neglected the performance of the late religious and neceſſary duty of faſting. For it is in vain to ſhelter a contempt of the laws, under the act of toleration. An act deſigned to prevent perſecution for religion, in ſuch caſes which the ſtate acknowledged to be indifferent: but not to countenance every irreligious, factious, and rebellious doctrine, which the enthuſiaſts, un-

chriſtian, and republican teachers, might invent and introduce from time to time.

So far I can venture to affirm, that theſe worldly-minded people can find no plea for their obſtinacy, and diſobedience, in ſcripture; and that there don't want examples to ſhew the confuſion and damage, which have enſued to the ſtate, by yielding to, or conniving at thoſe, who plead conſcience for rebellion, and reject all authority, that interferes with their unruly paſſions. Q.

No. 29. SATURDAY, *February* 21ſt, 1756.

The Quacks of government, who ſate
At the unregarded helm of ſtate,
——— *met in conſultation*
To cant *and* quack *upon the nation;*
Not for the ſickly patient's ſake,
Nor what to give, but what to take.

HUDIBRAS.

To the FREEHOLDER.

SIR,

AMONG the number of your correſpondents, I preſent you with a piece of Hudibras: in which that great genius tranſmits a repreſentation of an empirical miniſtry, who had made their way to the helm of ſtate by corruption; and had neither honeſty nor

capacity to defend or improve their charge: and who, notwithſtanding their diſagreement about power, and the manner of governing, united heartily in all meaſures to maintain their authority, though ever ſo ruinous to the ſubject.

BLINDED by ambition and avarice, every conſideration was to give way to private intereſt: and the national treaſure and the public good were ſacrificed to ſelfiſh views. The form of government was kept up: but there was no care taken of the people's rights: and when theſe pretended guardians of their liberty, property and religion met in conſultation, it was not to redreſs grievances, and to maintain the honour and trade of the nation; but to eſtabliſh their own power, by ſecuring an intereſt in foreign councils, at the price of traiterous connivances and feloneous treaties; or to plunder and enſlave the people by raiſing extravagant aids of money, and obliging them to maintain a ſtanding army; under the ſanction of a corrupt parliament, and with the popular cant for the advancement of the Proteſtant cauſe, and for the honour and ſecurity of the nation.

HENCE it has been a juſt obſervation, that for one prince, who has been undone, or reduced to great diſtreſs by his own perſonal vices, there are ten, whoſe reigns have been made unhappy or inglorious by the corruption, ambition, or treachery of their miniſters, when admitted into

into a too great ſhare of their power. And from that moment an officer or favourite is eſtabliſhed with an uncontroulable authority, majeſty is eclipſed, liberty is ſuſpended, and the whole conſtitution is left to the mercy of him and his ſub-delegates, who are obedient to his commands, ſhare in the plunder of the people, are protected in all their crimes, and repay him by patronizing and recommending his moſt ruinous meaſures; by aſſwaging the fears of the people, and by ſacrificing their liberties to his private intereſt. For, a monopolizing miniſter cannot reign long without a combined ſubordination of inferior monopolies.

He muſt have monopolies of power, of money, of trade, and a party of falſe whiſperers to poiſon the ears of princes: which, when it takes effect, is generally the moſt ſudden deſtruction that can be brought upon a nation. For, when the ſovereign is once prevailed upon to frown on a whole party, for no other reaſon than that they appeal to him and the laws againſt a bad miniſter, the miniſter never wants an opportunity to lop and lop, till he leaves the government a naked defenceleſs trunk; and having ſecured the Prince in his own power, lays the axe to the very root, and enſlaves both king and people.

To confirm the reaſon of this obſervation, I could mention a King, who, in the former part of his reign, was under the abſolute management of an Earl, and was kept in leading-

ſtrings all the reſt of his life by a Duke: and a Miniſter, who, notwithſtanding the remonſtrances of the people, and their loud complaints for the many miſchiefs and evils he had brought upon the nation, kept his ground under the wings of majeſty, againſt all oppoſition, by artfully perſuading the King, that the ſticklers againſt his mal-adminiſtration were ſecretly undermining the throne; and that the ſafety of his crown depended upon the ſupport of the Duke.

So that whatever ſtate, whether it be republican or monarchical; whether it be mixed or abſolute, has the misfortune to fall under the miſeries of ſuch a government, it muſt ſoon be reduced to extreme ſlavery, if not timely prevented. Corruption is more or leſs dangerous, in proportion to the ſtations in which corrupt men are placed. In a private ſtation a breach of truſt may effect but a few or one perſon only; but on the ſeat of juſtice it oppreſſes a multitude: and where the legiſlative power falls under the influence of a bribe, and is become ſubſervient to the miniſter, whoſe meaſures are calculated to weaken and to diſtreſs the ſubject, the whole conſtitution is endangered. Theſe are the corrupt trees, which cannot bring forth good fruit: for, there can be no merit in a man that wants honeſty: and if a man gains his poſt by corruption, what good can be expected from ſuch a man in the execution of the truſt placed in him?

THERE-

THEREFORE, if ſuch a power, wherever it appears, be not oppoſed betimes; if it be ſuffered to ſpread itſelf, it will grow irreſiſtible; however ſlow and leiſurely it has gained ground by light and eaſy methods to quiet and deceive the people: for innumerable accidents may concur to rivet thoſe chains, which the people permit to be quietly forged and impoſed: and it is hard truſting to friends in ſuch circumſtances. How many have in the day of trial cooled in their zeal? how many divided in opinion? how many deſerted the cauſe of liberty for a penſion! a poſt! or a title! corruption undermines the integrity of ſome; and wealth and preſent eaſe work upon the fears of many more. A very unequal match for thoſe, who are agreed to purſue the moſt deſtructive meaſures; who hazard nothing but the conſtitution, and are poſſeſſed of the means of corruption. And as the quacks can loſe nothing in the miſcarriage, but have great hopes of gain in the ſucceſs of their ſchemes: ſo they, who love their country, have been generally found to be very unequal to withſtand thoſe, whom deſpair emboldens, whom their crimes render deſperate, and whom their common guilt unites.

How ſeverely did this nation experience the tyrannical miniſtry compoſed of the favourites and ſycophants of James the Firſt, headed by an upſtart, ignorant, and domineering duke? who contrived the hitherto ſerviceable, but moſt execrable ſcheme of dividing the nation into

two great parties. By which means, and by advancing a creature of his own to the mitre, he began to lord it over his majeſty, as well as the people. Who having loaded himſelf and dependents with honours, titles, and preferments, ſold the reſt to the beſt bidders. The very biſhopricks and ſeats of juſtice were put up to ſale: and thoſe, who ought to have been the guardians of the conſtitution, and to have puniſhed the tranſgreſſors, he found means ſo to manage, as to let the guilty paſs with impunity.

To ſecure himſelf from all vexation abroad, this quack of government permitted the nation to be reduced to the utmoſt contempt, and to bear the groſſeſt inſults without reſentment; under a pretence of preſerving peace. And when he diſcovered a ſtorm riſing againſt him at home, he threw out a tub to amuſe the people, or turned off their attention from himſelf, as ſome of his ſucceſſors have done with great ſucceſs, by feeding their expectations with promiſes of reprizals, which he never intended, and frightening them with plots and invaſions, which never exiſted, nor were poſſible to be carried into execution.

The miſeries that followed the quackeries of the next miniſter under King Charles I. are ſo univerſally known, that it may ſuffice to obſerve, that the former ſchemes of arbitrary power were ſo improved, as to produce a bloody civil war; which terminated in the murder of the

the King, and the overthrow of the ſtate. Yet this cataſtrophe was ſo far from deterring ſucceeding miniſters: that Charles II. was ſcarce fixed on the throne before they inſpired him with the ruinous principles of arbitrary power: and planned out ſeveral ſchemes to render him abſolute: to empower him to raiſe money without parliament, or by means of a Houſe of C——s, at the devotion of the M———r, to impoveriſh his ſubjects by preparations for wars never intended, and to ſecure the poſſeſſion of the army: grievances! which at laſt grew ſo intolerable, that the lords could not help complaining of the colluſion between the Miniſtry and Commons, in money affairs. "Ought there to be no bounds, ſays a noble lord, no moderation in giving? can it be ſaid that his majeſty will not be able to maintain his alliances, and that the nation will run the hazard of being conquered without ſuch an extraordinary ſupply? this may be a reaſon for giving, as much as the ſubject can bear; but it is ſo far from being an argument for giving ſo much as is demanded, that it may clearly be made out, that it is the direct and ready way to be conquered by a foreigner: and it may be the policy of the French King, by his frequent alarms of fleets and armies fitting out, and marching out to invade us and diſturb our allies, to induce us to conſume our treaſure in vain preparations againſt him; and when he hath by theſe means, made us poor and weak

enough; for this is the only way to reduce our ſtrength; he will have then the beſt opportunity to come and deſtroy us.

IT is not the giving a great deal, but the well managing of the money given by parliament, that muſt preſerve us from the power and ſtratagems of our enemies. Shall we, through fear of being conquered by a foreigner, put ourſelves into a condition almoſt as bad, or in ſome reſpects, a great deal worſe? what does this come ſhort of the laconic motto, *ne moriare mori!* When we are obliged to ſubmit to a conqueror, our fate is determined, and the certainty of our miſeries in ſome ſort makes them more tolerable. But to be conſumed by piecemeals, and left in a ſtate of uncertainty, whether there ſhall ever come an end to our grievances; if there is no end of giving till all ſhall be taken away; the ſickly patient ſhall die by inches.

HAD that noble Lord, who expreſſed his fear of the nations ſinking under the weight of three millions, which the miniſtry aſked, in King Charles the Second's name, to defend the national trade; what amazement would it have thrown him into, had he lived to ſee ſix, ſeven, eight, nine, nay! ten millions, year after year, granted by the repreſentatives of the people for the protection of German States; what reaſon would he have had to tell the Lords, "If you can afford no relief, we muſt ſink under the weight of it. If you cannot deny or moderate a bill

a bill for money, all your great eſtates are wholly at their diſpoſal, and you have nothing in this free country, that you can properly call your own." A people, who are ready to contribute a greater part of their eſtates to ſupport the intereſt and grandeur of their country, if they could be aſſured of its being applied to the chaſtiſement of the inſolence of thoſe nations, who encroach upon our property and trade, diſturb our peace, and threaten our deſtruction; under the ſole preſumption, that a war is incompatible with our circumſtances, and the intereſt of thoſe who conſult their own more than their country's good; may be very unwilling to part with it for the ſupport of a foreign intereſt.

I cannot be at a loſs what to imagine would have been the idea of this noble Lord, had he lived to ſee a miniſter in poſſeſſion of the whole legiſlative power! a numerous ſtanding army! and having the diſpoſal of all monies and places of truſt and profit! what remedy could the languiſhing nation expect from a parliament devoted to his ſervice? what ſecurity could a King promiſe himſelf againſt a ſervant, able to bribe and corrupt, as well the guardians of the public liberty and property, as the ſtanding army? Power naturally tends to corrupt the heart: for, like Pericles, men, inſtead of enlarging their beneficence, increaſe their ambition; and ſtudy, rather to be mightier, than wiſer, or better. They don't conſult what to give, but what to take:

take: and private intereſt is the reſult of their conſultations, which ought to be devoted to the public good.

SUPPOSE a nation ſo unhappy as to be given up to a miniſterial power, that places all his hopes of reigning in contradictory and ruinous treaties with foreign potentates: in the increaſe of public debts: in the weakneſs of ſubjects, loaded with taxes, and denied the uſe of arms in their own defence: in promoting luxury, and miſapplying the public money: in neglecting the trade, and ſtretching the credit of the nation: in conniving at hoſtile encroachments upon our dominions: in a ſtanding army of cuſtom-houſe, exciſe, and navy officers, mercenary ſoldiers; and what is worſt of all, in a flexible P——t, ready to approve of all his meaſures, whether right or wrong, and to protect him againſt the repreſentations of a diſtreſſed people; how could it be delivered from the hand of the oppreſſor, who wants neither expedients to ſtave off their juſt reſentment, nor minions to defend his miſconduct? for as no covenant is obligatory when it cannot be carried into execution; ſo there can be little hopes of bringing ſuch a one to puniſhment, or to remove him from the helm, when he has once ſecured that ſtrength, by which only the community is able to enquire into and puniſh his abuſe of power.

WHO then ſhould be truſted with exorbitant power? fatal experience has convinced all people,

people, that when a M——r is eſtabliſhed with an uncontroulable authority, from that moment liberty is depreſſed, majeſty is overruled; and, as I've remarked before, the whole conſtitution is left to his mercy. Z.

No. 30. SATURDAY, *February* 28, 1756.

Fixit leges pretio, atque reſixit.

VIRG.

To the FREEHOLDER.

SIR,

HAD not examples of modern date verified the truth of the motto, a free people would have been apt to look upon the aſſertion only as a poetical licence, that there could ever be found a nation, whoſe ſenators, entruſted with the legiſlative power, were ſo diveſted of all honeſty and ſhame, as to ſell their country for any private emolument, and to hold a place, or a penſion, or take a bribe, either to eſtabliſh tyranny under the form of law, or to repeal thoſe ordinances or ſtatutes, on which depend the public ſafety and tranquility.

ALL government is eſtabliſhed by certain laws or ſtatutes; which, ſo far as the privileges of the ſovereign power, and the rights of the ſubjects depend upon, and are aſcertained

tained by, thoſe original contracts, are not to be repealed.

THESE laws, in a monarchical mixed government, have always been conſulted and enacted for the ſecurity of the crown, the meaſure of the ſubjects obedience, and for their protection againſt all encroachments upon their birth-right.

THIS was the ſentiment of thoſe Freeholders, who ſubmitted to the firſt monarch of this nation:—Of thoſe barons, who ſtood up in defence of the people, againſt the tyrannies brought in with the Norman yoke aided by foreign officers and ſoldiers; and through a ſea of noble blood tranſmitted to poſterity the great charter of the ancient Engliſh liberties:— and of thoſe advocates for liberty, who in the reign of King James, applied to the ſtate malady of arbitrary power, that ſevere cauſtic, which firſt produced a revolution with a bill of rights; a confirmation of our liberties in the moſt favourable ſenſe! and an act of parliament, whereby the throne is ſecured to the Houſe of Hanover, on certain conditions, requiſite and neceſſary for the eſtabliſhment and ſupport of that new government.

WHAT was ſtipulated in favour of the people, who renounced their king for diſcouraging their religion; for admitting diſqualified perſons into his councils; interfering in the elections of members of parliament; invading their ancient rights and privileges, and for perverting of juſtice;

tice; and who conſented to the act of ſettlement?

WAS it not provided in this act, that the reigning prince ſhall join in communion with the church of England? that the church by law eſtabliſhed might be ſupported both againſt Popery and ſectaries.

WAS it not enacted, that Britain ſhould not be involved in wars for the defence of foreign dominions, ſubject to the Houſe of Hanover? that the property and blood of Britiſh ſubjects might not be miſapplied, conſumed, and ſpilt in a cauſe where they have no real intereſt.

WAS not the Sovereign reſtrained from going out of theſe kingdoms? to prevent the extraordinary augmentation of the civil liſt, the vaſt ſums of public money, which would be required to accommodate a King of Great Britain on his travels; and the dangers, which might befal theſe kingdoms, ſhould his perſon be ſurpriſed abroad by hoſtile ſtratagems, into orders or conceſſions derogatory to the honour and dignity of his crown, and contrary to the intereſt of theſe realms; or be expoſed to the temptation and importunity of foreign councils, which might, with as much ſucceſs as a Father Petres, a Pope's Nuncio, or an Italian Queen, prevail with their natural-born ſovereign, to enter into meaſures, to contract debts, to raiſe armies, and to ſign treaties, deſtructive of the true intereſt of the Britiſh dominions.

AND,

AND, to wave for the preſent thoſe valuable rights eſtabliſhed by the ſame act of ſettlement, whereby the ſubject is guarded againſt the influence of a bad adminiſtration upon proceedings in law and equity, and things cognizable in privy council by the laws of the realm; the wiſdom of the legiſlature, in order to ſecure us againſt thoſe marks of ſlavery, impoſed by William the Norman, who governed by a foreign council; tyrannized by the aſſiſtance of a parliament of Normans; filled all offices, places of truſt both in the ſtate and army with foreigners, and divided the ancient inheritance of the Britons amongſt his native favourites and ſharers of his fortune, enacted;

'THAT no perſon born out of the kingdoms 'of *England*, *Scotland* or *Ireland*; or the do-'minions thereunto belonging (although he be 'naturalized or made a denizen, except ſuch as 'are born of Engliſh parents) ſhall be capable 'to be of the *privy* council, or a member of ei-'ther Houſe of *Parliament*, or to enjoy any of-'fice or place of truſt, either *civil* or MILI-'TARY; or to have any grant of *lands*, *tene-'ments* or *hereditaments* from the crown to him-'ſelf, or to any other or others, in truſt for 'him.'

THESE are ſome of the laws *requiſite* and *neceſſary*, as the ſtatute words it, for the SECURING of our RELIGION, LAWS and LIBERTIES; and according to which ALL *Kings* and *Queens*, who ſhall aſcend the throne of *Great Britain*, ought

ought to adminiſter the government; and ALL their *officers* and *miniſters* ought to ſerve them reſpectively. Who then dare adviſe or abet the repeal of any part thereof? without expoſing himſelf to the reſentment due to an evil counſellor? and a traitor to his country?

THESE are the laws claimed by every Britiſh ſubject, in right of the act, which ſettles the crown upon the Houſe of Hanover. And as the laws of England are the undoubted birthright of the people, no part of thoſe laws, which are originally declared to be *requiſite* and *neceſſary* for the SECURING of our RELIGION, LAWS, and LIBERTIES, can be repealed, without expoſing the people to the fatal conſequences, againſt which the wiſdom and experience of our anceſtors provided by that original contract; and which every prince at his coronation ſwears to preſerve inviolable.

IT might, perhaps, be interpreted ſeditious in a Britiſh Freeholder, to complain of the power given to juſtices of the peace, and to the commiſſioners of exciſe to determine cauſes without a jury, and even in ſome caſes, where their own intereſt is particularly concerned? but I have a right to object to the repeal of any clauſe in our LAST *Great Charter*; wherein the inconveniencies, that might attend the calling-in of a foreign prince to reign over us, are obviated, and the perpetual ſucceſſion in the Proteſtant Houſe of Hanover is ſecured.

If it may be fair to argue, from what has been to what may be; it ſhould unite all ſtations and parties againſt any further attempts upon the act of ſettlement. How dear has this nation paid for the repeal of that part thereof, which reſtrained the King from going abroad to viſit his German Dominions? how weak were the arguments which countenanced this repeal? as if the King's tour to Hanover was to be objected to, no more than a journey to a country eſtate; and as if ſuch a tour was become neceſſary for eſtabliſhing alliances to guarantee the peace and welfare of the Britiſh Dominions. But could we unfold all, or durſt we relate ſome, which are come to our knowledge, of the many burdenſome and diſagreeable conſequences, brought upon Great Britain by a repeal of that clauſe, they would fix diſgrace on the memory of thoſe, who contrived or abetted that act of repeal.

It would, perhaps, be deſcending too minutely, to enquire into the millions of ſpecie and bullion, which in the ſpace of forty years, by that channel alone, have been drained out of this nation; not to mention, that univerſal ſtagnation of trade in the Britiſh capital, deſerted for many months together; while Hanover, with Britiſh treaſure, ſurpaſſes the moſt brilliant courts on the continent. But we cannot without great concern recollect the effects of ſome treaties, which have taken their riſe in ſeveral of thoſe journies. Can it be imagined, that a King of Great

Great Britain, entirely under the influence of a Britiſh council; would ever have entered into that alliance, which was made at Hanover with the Czar of Muſcovy, &c. and provoked the King of Sweden to turn his wrath and his arms upon the King of Great Britain? could any thing have muzzled our cannon in the Mediterranean, had his Britannic Majeſty been reſtrained from going out of this kingdom? No threats of a foreign power was ever able to extort a neutrality from the court at St. James's. And the numerous burdenſome and moſt expenſive treaties for ſubſidiary forces, in time of peace, with the German Princes, plann'd at Herenhauſen, have drained more money out of Great Britain, than Queen Elizabeth ſpent in all her wars, during a long reign of forty-four years. Theſe are ſome effects of the firſt repeal!

How heavily has Great Britain felt the effects of thoſe pa-rl--y conceſſions, by which this nation, contrary to the ſpirit and letter of the act of ſettlement, has been drawn into quarrels on account of foreign dominions?

To this we place the account of the ſeveral fleets ſent into the Baltic: the whole charge of the breach with the late emperor; and the immenſe treaſure paid for thoſe ſubſidiaries, which by their treaties are engaged to cover Hanover, at the ſole expence of Great Britain.

YET, as if theſe breaches in the act of ſettlement were not caution enough againſt further attempts upon the rights of the people, I am

told, that there are men, who bluſh not to promote a voidance of that part of the ſame act, which excludes all perſons from any *military truſt*, except ſuch as are born in England, Scotland, Ireland, or the dominions thereunto belonging, or of Britiſh parents.—A privilege expreſs; and not like the foregoing clauſe, left in the power or conſent of P——t to interpret it to the diſadvantage of the ſubject.

It is true the preſent attempt to *impoſe* foreign officers upon the ſoldiery, may be palliated with the plauſible arguments of neceſſity and ſuperior abilities: and with promiſes of not making this conceſſion a precedent. But whence can this neceſſity ariſe? cannot the three kingdoms ſupply the demand for officers in an army of five or ſix thouſand men deſtined for America? are theſe ſoldiers, whoſe anceſtors were a terror throughout the whole earth, ſo degenerate as not to be capable of carrying on a warfare with a handful of French, and undiſciplined ſavages? are the people, who voluntarily called in, and have been at the expence of above one hundred millions to ſupport the Houſe of Hanover upon the throne, not to be truſted? are they the only people who are become the object of jealouſy? or, muſt it indeed be confeſſed that they are reduced to a ſtate of inactivity and cowardice, by the laws made on purpoſe to diſcourage their exerciſe of arms? if this ſhould be the caſe, to what a miſerable condition are we reduced!

Does

DOES it ſeem a trifling affair to conſent to this force put upon the act of ſettlement? and if the military gentlemen paſſively ſubmit, can it be thought a matter of indifferency by other parts of the body politic, to entruſt our armies to foreign officers? do you imagine that the power and policy, which on this occaſion makes no ſcruple to break in upon the right of the ſubject in a military capacity, will not puſh forward till all the places of truſt and profit ſhall be given to foreigners? let them only ſecure the army by virtue of an act of parliament; and grant them the powers of the mutiny bill; and then ſee who dare oppoſe any future ſchemes for admitting foreigners into the privy council and into both Houſes of Parliament? a P——t that will venture to put the military power of this nation into the hands of foreigners, becomes from that moment ſervants to that power.

NOR is this mere declamation. Can there be any dependance on a P——t, that is ready to enact and annul according to the mandate of a m——r, whoſe power is formed on the weakneſs of the people? do not theſe progreſſive encroachments upon the people's rights threaten an entire abrogation, in the end? will it not be as eaſy, or rather more eaſy, for a future miniſter, poſſeſſed of an army created againſt law, to ſupport himſelf againſt law, and to annihilate every part of the people's ſecurity in the act of ſettlement; than to find a P——t, ſo corrupt as to put the military power into the

hands of foreigners, againſt the expreſs letter of that act? ſhould it not alarm even majeſty itſelf to hear ſuch a doctrine in politics publickly avowed and maintained, that the P——t have power to abrogate the eſtabliſhed laws in the original contract of government? for if once it be allowed that there can be any ſuch power as to diſpenſe with the ſovereign in his engagements with the people, it will be very difficult to perſuade them, that they have not an equal right to be releaſed from their promiſe of allegiance.

UPON the whole: who can foreſee the fatality of ſuch an innovation, contrary to the expreſs words and intention of the act of ſettlement, to admit into military offices and places of truſt, a German, a Swiſs, or any other foreign officer, upon the Britiſh eſtabliſhment? what may we not dread, when we ſee the arms of defence denied to native born ſubjects, and put into the hands of foreigners; inveſted with the power of a mutiny bill? ſoldiers under ſuch a bill muſt obey their commanders, let the ſervice be ever ſo hurtful to their native ſoil: and they, who have been taught, that King James exceeded his prerogative, by garbling the army to make room for his Iriſh friends, will be apt to extenuate that proceeding far below the illegal attempt to *Germanize* the Britiſh troops; which in the preſent ſituation of our numerous army at home, and a more powerful one in our pay, ready to be poured into theſe kingdoms from abroad, would exhibit the fore-bodings of abſolute power under

der any other prince, but a Sovereign, who makes juſtice, mercy, and the love of his ſubjects the ultimate object of all his actions.

P.

To the MONITOR.

P. S. The ſcurrilous invective in the name of the *Quakers* againſt your paper of the 14th inſtant, containing *Remarks on the behaviour of thoſe people* on the late *Faſt-Day*, is a plain conviction of their guilt in thoſe particulars, laid to their charge: but as they pretend the author of *thoſe remarks* is neither acquainted with the *principles* nor *hiſtory* of the *Quakers*, I think it my duty to tranſmit, by your paper, a view of their *principles* and *practices*; which perhaps may convince the impartial, that they are neither ſo *good Chriſtians*, nor ſo *loyal Subjects*, as they ought to be. Your inſerting this will be a ſufficient token of your approbation.

Z.

No. 31. SATURDAY, *March* 6, 1756.

The rich that rul'd and every office bore,
Confin'd by laws, they could not preſs the poor:
Both parties I ſecur'd from lawleſs might;
So none prevail'd upon another's right.

SOLON.

To the FREEHOLDER.

SIR,

IT has always been the care of a wiſe and good government, when the exigencies of the ſtate made it neceſſary to raiſe money, by way of tax upon the ſubject, to do it in ſuch a manner, as might the leaſt diſtreſs the public in general, and never oppreſs any particular part of the body politic. Becauſe oppreſſive and arbitrary methods produce murmurings, and ſometimes an averſion to a miniſtry.

TAXES become burdenſome to a nation, when they are multiplied beyond the abilities of the people; when impoſed or continued upon unneceſſary pretences; or when they are levied arbitrarily: and they are intolerable, when they affect the liberty or trade of the nation.

THEREFORE the conſtitution of our country has provided againſt all exceſſes in this part of the adminiſtration, by confining it to the parliament to judge of the real neceſſity of thoſe ſupplies

ſupplies aſked by the miniſtry; and of the moſt proper ways and means for raiſing thoſe ſums, that ſhould be found neceſſary for the defence of the public property, and of the honour and dignity of the crown. It would have been happy for this iſland had thoſe guardians of the people never taken the eſtimates of the current year with am implicit faith from the miniſter, and granted him all his demands without reſerve! there would have been no reaſon for a complaint ſome years ago; 'That ſhould the peo-'ple continue ſubject to all the taxes for twenty-'four years to come, which they paid in the 'year 1737, our trade would certainly be un-'done.' If this was a juſt calculation, what muſt we think of thoſe reports ſpread in the news-papers, which terrify us with additional taxes, on the eve of that period predicted for the loſs of our trade and credit? it would be haſtening our deſtruction to a very ſhort day; eſpecially if we take into the account the thirty millions which has been added ſince that time to the national debt.

To tax labour has always been a token of the laſt extremity and diſtreſs for money. Can it then be ſuppoſed, that the repreſentatives of Great Britain are driven to the neceſſity of not only conſenting to ſuch a propoſal from the m—y, but of accumulating one tax upon another?

Is not a tax upon bricks and tiles a tax upon labour? is it not alſo heaping one tax upon another? this very clay, of which they are made, pays,

pays, this year, four ſhillings in the pound towards the land-tax. And ſhould ſuch a ſcheme obtain the ſanction of parliament, every perſon that builds a houſe, in his own right, will be ſaddled with the land-tax, the window-lights, an addition of two ſhillings *per* thouſand for the bricks and tiles uſed in that building, and with ſuch other impoſition or advance of price, which the great waſte in the kilns, and the little allowance made for it by law, will oblige the maker to calculate for his own advantage. So that in a moderate dwelling-houſe of four rooms in a floor, with its conveniences, the owner muſt be loaded with a tax of at leaſt forty pounds advanced, before it can be made habitable.

But what would increaſe the murmur againſt ſuch a tax is its partiality; for it is very well known by thoſe, who are better acquainted with the different parts of Britain, than with foreign countries, that ſuch a tax will in nowiſe include thoſe great ſtone manſions of our nobility and gentry; nor the numerous villages, and ſeveral large towns and cities, which are all or in a great part built of ſtone, or wood, of lath and plaiſter, and covered with lead, ſlate or thatch. Should this be rightly conſidered, I dare ſay, it will not anſwer the miniſter's expectation to aſk, nor be agreeable to the wiſdom and equity of a Britiſh parliament to grant it.

Nor can I think more favourable of another propoſal, to lay an additional duty on bullion: and much leſs in the form already thrown out

to

to the public view. For, let this ſcheme be conſidered only in a mechanical light: how greatly muſt the whole plate-trade ſuffer by it? it is the ready way to work its ruin. They that now contentedly pay *ſix-pence* per *ounce* duty on the purchaſe of a favourite or uſeful piece of plate, will think it very hard to be compelled to pay a further duty of five ſhillings for every thirty ounces: ten ſhillings for fifty ounces, twenty ſhillings for one hundred ounces, forty ſhillings for three hundred ounces, three pounds for five hundred ounces, five pounds for one thouſand ounces, eight pounds for fifteen hundred ounces, and ten pounds for two thouſand ounces and upwards, annually.* Will not ſuch an impoſition, inſtead of encouraging the plate-trade, tear it up by the very roots; and force the ſubjects to ſell their plate, inſtead of encreaſing their ſtock?

WHAT have the ſilver-ſmiths done to deſerve this ſevere puniſhment? ſo many thouſand families! who ſubſiſt reputably on the manufacture of plate, to be reduced to beggary, or to the dangerous alternative of carrying their art to a country, where labour and artificers are encouraged, is a moſt diſmal proſpect. The preſent flouriſhing condition of our ſilk manufacture is the offspring of perſecution. Had not Lewis XIV. forced his manufacturers to ſeek a more comfortable place of living, there is little reaſon to ſuppoſe Britain would have excelled all other nations in that trade. And what per-

* This was the firſt propoſal by the Chan—r of the Ex--q—r.

ſecution

ſecution is ſo intolerable to a tradeſman, as to choak up the ſource of his gain? who can be thought ſo extravagant to add to the dead weight of a ſervice of plate of two thouſand ounces, the annual ſum of ten pounds? ſuch a ſtore would become a cancer in the family; and a minor to whom two thouſand ounces of plate is ſpecificially deviſed, may be compelled to pay two hundred pounds for that dead ſtock, before he can get poſſeſſion thereof by law.

If we view this ſcheme in the balance of equity; it cannot be ſuppoſed that the legiſlature will ever carry it into a law. The argument made uſe of to obtain the conſent of parliament, and to deceive the people into a compliance, is luxury. No one would oppoſe a tax upon that foundation. But let us bring it to the touchſtone of reaſon. Luxury is not the uſe of any convenient garment, veſſel, &c. but the exceſs in apparel, goods and proviſions is that luxury, on which taxes ſhould be laid for the public eaſe and relief. For, it is certain that the body of the people will never complain of a law, which only affects them, who have more money than wit; and whoſe paſſions muſt be indulged, let the expence be what it will.

Now let us examine the plate-ſcheme before us. Is thirty ounces of plate in the poſſeſſion of an induſtrious ſubject, who works with pleaſure for the maintenance of a little family; and, inſtead of caſting away his pence in a public-houſe, delights in his pipe and a tankard of ale

of

of his own earning and brewing at home; to be ſtigmatized with the name of luxury? perhaps a widow left in low circumſtances has reſerved fifty ounces of her family plate, which both for its uſe, and regard of thoſe that left it her, ſhe is deſirous to keep: would it not be cruel to load her with ten ſhillings a year for ſo trifling a ſatisfaction? but to paſs over theſe examples: Is it luxury in a merchant, or a gentleman of fortune to have a ſide-board or ſervice of plate of two thouſand ounces, and they who have from two thouſand to twenty thouſand ounces, ſhall be overlooked, and be exempt from this ſumptuary law? yet this muſt be the caſe, ſhould the preſent ſcheme for a tax upon plate ſucceed. The induſtrious and frugal muſt be obliged to pay for every ounce they poſſeſs; and they, who are loaded with it to exceſs, ſhall pay nothing for their Surplus. Would it not be moſt unreaſonable to exact a tax of five pounds from a ſteward, or from the clerk of a company, and permit ten thouſand ounces belonging to a lord, or to a college, or other body corporate, to lie unnoticed? of which quantity I could give ſeveral examples in this metropolis and the two univerſities.

SUCH is the depravity of this ſcheme! and muſt therefore be an everlaſting bar to its paſſage through a Britiſh parliament; whoſe wiſdom and juſtice are never more conſpicuous than in the protection of the ſubjects property from the rapacious talons of miniſterial ſchemes.

CAN

CAN the guardians of the people ever permit one part of the ſociety; the induſtrious, the frugal, the moſt ſerviceable part of the commonwealth, to fall a prey to the ſecret machinations of the ignorant or deſigning projectors of the ſtate? if a tax muſt be laid upon luxury, ſacrifice the pride, the ambition, and the profuſeneſs of the people to the ſupport of liberty: but protect the trade and the freedom of the nation in every branch.

NEITHER can it enter into my thoughts, that a miniſter, who wiſhes well to his maſter, or to his own being, would ever riſque the affections of the ſubject, the ruin of ſo many thouſand artiſts in the plate-trade, and the loſs of the preſent duty upon that branch, for the ſake of thirty-five thouſand pounds *per annum*, provided he could be ſure of raiſing that ſum by this new ſcheme. And as this is a very ill-grounded conjecture; as it is impoſſible to form ſo exact a computation upon the produce of family-plate; and as it muſt be confeſſed to be a very unequal tax; there muſt certainly be ſome ſnake in the graſs, ſome political after-clap in view; and inſtead of loading us with thirty-five thouſand pounds at preſent, it is well if there may not come ſome other miniſter, who having, by this means, gained a thorough knowledge of the whole value of bullion in the nation, may help to unload us of part thereof to pay thoſe debts, which have been contracted by iniquitous or weak meaſures in former times.

NEITHER

NEITHER would this tax ſtop here. A ſcheme of this ſort is too extenſive to be overlooked by the nation in general. There is ſcarce a branch of the body politic but muſt feel it ſeverely in ſome ſhape or other. The merchant will not be able to carry his dollars to market with the uſual advantage; which will oblige him either to impoſe the balance of loſs in the price of his ſilver upon his goods in a foreign market, or to reduce the ſale of the manufactures: how far either of theſe incidents muſt affect the trade of theſe kingdoms requires very little attention and calculation. If a dollar will not go as far in a Spaniard's dealings with the Engliſh as with another nation; it is certain the Britiſh commodities will be ſoon thrown out of their markets: and ſhould the reduction in the price of ſilver be ſupplied out of the price of our own manufactures, there is no branch of trade, nor landholder but muſt ſenſibly feel the bad effects thereof.

ANOTHER objection to this tax lies againſt the method of collecting it. For, in what manner ſoever it be propoſed, it muſt be attended with all the inconveniencies and ſeverities of an exciſe. To oblige the owners of plate to regiſter their ſtock, which is the eaſieſt way, muſt alſo expoſe them to the faſhionable exciſe-evidence of informations. And it is well known, that a ſet of informers ſupported by an act of parliament, and a warrant from the commiſſioners of his majeſty's revenue, are not always men

men of the beſt manners and morals, and may enter any dwelling-houſe, and rummage the moſt ſecret corners of a lady's bed-chamber. How diſtracted; how dangerous might it prove to people of weak ſpirits, and lone women, to have their apartments rifled by a gang of exciſemen, upon the bare information of vicious or malicious ſervants, by way of revenge upon a family, who had diſmiſſed them for immoralities or diſhoneſty? and to make a law without means to inforce it would be doing worſe than nothing.

'IN whatever form the ſubject diſcovers an extenſion of the laws of exciſe, he cannot be too early in his oppoſition. Becauſe by theſe laws the prerogative is extended, and the people are deprived of the liberty, which they claim of being tried by JURIES, under the great charter of the realm.

I SHOULD be very unwilling to hear of a miniſter in theſe days, who ſhould propoſe a law to encourage; and even to tempt menial ſervants, the dregs of the people, ſwayed with the hopes of gain: and may be ſuſpected of being more ready to raiſe their fortunes by informations, than to earn their bread by the ſweat of their brows. Would not this be exemplifying the iniquitous meaſures of Empſon and Dudley, who were infamous for encouraging *promoters* or *informers*, and for erecting a private juriſdiction, and condemning men in exceſſive fines without trying them by JURIES?

SHOULD

SHOULD the neceſſities of the ſtate require an increaſe of taxes: let them be laid upon the luxuries of life in the firſt place, ſuch as cards, dice, and other games and diverſions of an expenſive nature: but even in theſe taxes there ought to be ſufficient care taken to collect them without endangering the liberty of the ſubject. But,

THE miniſter, that keeps but one point in view: that regards not the diſtreſſes of the people, provided he can maintain his poſt: that artfully endeavours to ſurprize the repreſentatives of the nation into a conſent of a ſcheme to raiſe money, without giving them a proper notice of his intentions; and that immediately ſtigmatizes thoſe guardians of the ſubjects property with diſaffection to their ſovereign, for weighing or ſo much as examining into the neceſſity, nature, and conſequences of his propoſals, or money ſchemes, might be ſuſpected of a deſign to involve his country in the moſt diſgraceful, as well as the moſt hazardous meaſures, and of a deſign to rob the prince of his ſubjects affections, by laying the guilt of miniſterial tyranny at the door of majeſty.

WERE this our ſituation, how miſerable would be the condition of Britons! But it is our preſent happineſs that no ſcheme, which tends either to aggrieve one part of the body politic, or to diſtreſs the whole, will ever meet with ſucceſs, while the nation is bleſſed with a parlia-

ment devoted to the welfare of their conſtituents.

THE commonalty at all times have been ready to bear a proportionable ſhare of the burden required for the ſupport of their reſpective governments: and let the taxes be laid without partiality: let the miniſtry take care of the commerce, ſo as the poor artificers and manufacturers may be employed: and let the navigation be ſecured, ſo that our merchants may be enabled to maintain and extend their trade, and there is no doubt but the ſubjects will pay any taxes requiſite to ſupport the dignity and grandeur of the crown, and to ſecure to us the enjoyment of our liberties and properties; provided the ſame be raiſed with juſtice and equality.

I SHALL therefore conclude with the fable of the *fox and the weazle*, tranſlated by the celebrated Sir *Roger L'Eſtrange* in the laſt century.

"A SLIM, thin-gutted *Fox* made a hard ſhift "to wriggle his body into an hen-rooſt: and "when he had ſtuff'd his guts well, he "ſqueez'd hard to get out again: but the hole "was too little for him.

"THERE was a *weazle* a pretty way off, "that ſtood leering at him all the while; "brother *Reynard*, ſays he, your belly was "empty, when you went in, and you muſt "e'en ſtay till your belly be empty again, be"fore you can come out."

Sir ROGER's *Reflection.*

" THE *Fox*'s caſe here is that of many a " *public miniſter*, who comes empty in: but " when he has cram'd his guts well, he is fain " to ſqueeze hard before he can get out again, " and glad to compound with his very ſkin for " his carcaſe."

I am yours, &c.

F. D.

No. 32. SATURDAY, *March* 13, 1756.

Angli bello intrepidi, nec mortis ſenſu deterrentur.
VEGETIUS *de re militari.*

To the FREEHOLDER.

SIR,

AT a conjuncture, when the nation is alarmed with a powerful invaſion from France, and the government is ſending for Dutch and Heſſian forces to be imported into Britain; the following thoughts upon the native courage of our own people may not be unſeaſonable.

BRITISH courage was in former ages ſo univerſally allowed a ſuperiority by the reſt of the world, that it became a proverb to be *as brave*, or *as bold as a Briton*. And, if our *petit mai-*

ſtres, who copy after *monkeys* and *peacocks*, are not offended with the compariſon, our *bull-dogs* and *game-cocks* teſtify, 'That courage is the peculiar growth of our iſland.'

SHALL it be ſaid, that the human ſpecies is ſunk below the beaſts? or, ſhall our natural enemies, who have ſo often fled before Engliſh bravery, be encouraged to invade Britain under ſtrong aſſurances, that thoſe intrepid Engliſhmen, who look death in the face with the utmoſt indifference, are reſtrained by the laws of their country from the uſe of arms? that the chief dependance of their ſtate is upon an army of hirelings, who enliſt for a livelihood, and were never able to defend themſelves? or, that my fellow ſubjects are become ſo ſeditious, diſcontented and diſaffected, as to make it neceſſary for the government, to call in a foreign power to reſtrain them within the bounds of their allegiance?

AN inſinuation always made uſe of by thoſe uſurpers of power, who in former reigns and other countries attempted to oppreſs the ſubject, and to maintain their unconſtitutional meaſures by force: — but very unjuſtly applied to a people, whoſe blood, warmed with the fire of liberty, and their ſouls animated with the diſdain of ſlavery, cannot be ſuſpected of inviting or abetting a tyrannical invader; nor capable of forfeiting that glory of conquering, or dying in the cauſe of their king

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and country; for which they have in all times been diſtinguiſhed.

MUST the people, who ſo often exemplified their affection for the Proteſtant ſucceſſion in the Houſe of Hanover, and waved every private conſideration in favour of the public good, be treated as rebels or ſeditious mutineers? are they, who willingly contribute to the exigencies of the ſtate, and profeſs their readineſs to oppoſe her enemies, not to be truſted with arms in time of common danger? muſt that fire, which could not be quenched with torrents of blood, ſpilt in the cauſe of liberty, be ſmothered by diſabling clauſes in ſtatutes, enacted by their own repreſentatives? muſt a nation of Heroes be diſqualified from bearing of arms, or be obliged to truſt their very exiſtence, as a nation, to a mercenary ſubſidiary army of foreigners? or ſhall they be reduced to the woeful dilemma, either to yield to the arms of a powerful invader, or contentedly ſubmit to an armed force of mercenary auxiliaries?

THIS meaſure of defending or over-awing Britons by a foreign army, imported into her bowels, was never intended by the Revolutioniſts: and King William was ſo cautious of giving any umbrage for ſuch an unconſtitutional intention, that he diſmiſſed his very body-guards, becauſe they were not compoſed out of thoſe people, by whoſe free choice he was raiſed to the throne. And they, who paſſed the act of ſettlement, whereby foreigners were made

incapable of enjoying any military poſt, would have been greatly ſtartled, had they lived to ſee the promotions in the Britiſh army beſtowed upon foreigners, in preference to the *brave* Britiſh ſubalterns; and whole armies of a different language and intereſt, both in religion and commerce, imported, under the pretence of the weakneſs or diſaffection of a people, who are able to defend themſelves, and only wiſh for an opportunity to convince their ſovereign, at the hazard of their lives and fortunes, that they are willing to maintain the honour and dignity of his crown.

WHENCE ſhall we date the origin of this meaſure? was it not in the year 1715? when ſix thouſand Dutch were admitted into this iſland, without conſidering that it is unbecoming a King of Great Britain to owe his ſecurity to a foreign power; or that it was introducing a dangerous precedent towards the conqueſt and ſubjection of the country. The ſame authority that brought over ſix thouſand, might have imported any greater number of mercenary firelocks.

WHAT could perſuade a prince of ſo great penetration, as King George I. to conſent to ſuch a meaſure, is hard to imagine; except we may ſuppoſe him to have given too much credit to a pack of wicked men, who, having got his majeſty in hand, and taking advantage of his little acquaintance with the laws and ſpirit of the people, determined to monopolize the royal

al favour and confidence, by making him jealous of his ſubjects in general, to whoſe good-will he was indebted for his exaltation to the throne, and on whoſe affections the ſecurity of his crown entirely depended. A meaſure, which expoſed our country to a foreign military power; betrayed ſuch an exceſs of fear, as might encourage an enemy, and was the ready way to hazard a mutiny in the national troops.

How dangerous and wicked ſoever this experiment appeared to the reſt of mankind; the people connived at the introduction of thoſe foreigners, perſuaded, that when the pretence for ſuch an arbitrary meaſure ſhould ceaſe, that the king would become an Engliſhman, and that it would never be urged afterwards by way of precedent. But the adviſers thereof finding their account in it; their deſperate councils, whoſe exiſtence depended upon an aid, that could not be wrought upon by the natural ties of love for this country, improved the extraordinary ſtep towards deſpotic power: till at laſt an army of foreigners has been almoſt conſtantly kept in Britiſh pay, to march at the command or by the advice of a late miniſter, whoſe greateſt abilities have been detected to lie in diſarming the natural born ſubjects of theſe realms, and of loading them with taxes.

The progreſs of arbitrary power is various: ſometimes it creeps and ſteals upon a nation by gentle gradations and imperceptible motions, like a poiſonous reptile, till it eats to the very

heart of the conſtitution. Such is every fret made by the moths of government, in thoſe parchments or rolls, which contain the rights of a people. Or, at other times, like a tyger, it ruſhes upon you all at once, and tears it to pieces; as Oliver Cromwell did, when he uſurped all power by the help of a mercenary army. But whether it works by ſap, undermines by craft or corruption, or openly attacks by force; a free people ought always to be on their guard, and to watch its motions. And, as thoſe contrivances, which by driblets ſqueeze and drain the middling people of their property, and by repeals of their rights, are the moſt effectual ways to weaken their power by ſap, like a mole under-ground; ſo the diſarming of the ſubject, and the over-awing of them with a ſtanding army of foreigners, are the moſt open attempts to force them to paſſive obedience.

THOUGH there can be no apprehenſions of this kind under the auſpicious reign of his preſent majeſty: what can be the policy of ſo many acts, under the name of riot, ſmuggling, game, &c. which have from time to time totally diſarmed the people? To what tends that univerſal neglect and diſcouragement of the militia for many years? why ſo much art made uſe of to perſuade the unreaſonableneſs of ſelf-preſervation; the impoſſibility of a regular well-diſciplined militia; and to mark thoſe with diſaffection, who learn the exerciſe of arms? no people ever behaved better than

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an Engliſh militia at all times, when called out to defeat the moſt powerful invaders. Why then are Britons not to be truſted to fight in their own cauſe; and obliged to pay foreign armies, who more than once have convinced us, that they are ready to take our money; but glad of any excuſe to evade our real ſervice? I appeal to the behaviour of the Dutch and Heſſians in the year 1745. Did not the former pretend that their ſwords were faſtened by a French padlock? and did not the latter raiſe difficulties before they would obey the command of our Britiſh generaliſſimo?

A government that ſhews a diſtruſt in the ſubject has never wanted trouble. The enemy from without will be continually taking advantage of that jealouſy, to raiſe factions within: and while a bad miniſtry is contriving ways and means to enſlave a nation, and entrench their power in the ruins of liberty; the enemy is permitted to encroach upon their trade and property.

SHOULD it not be conſidered, before ſuch meaſures are reſolved upon, that to fetch troops at a vaſt expence from diſtant nations into an iſland of faithful and brave people, is both needleſs, hazardous, diſguſtful, and a burthen too heavy to be added to the other incumbrances of a war? to invite over a military force, trained up in beggary, and in republican, or in deſpotic principles, into a land of plenty and liberty, is dangerous to the conſtitution? to borrow immenſe

menſe ſums of money on national ſecurity to maintain ſuch forces in a country, already ſo many millions in debt, might create a jealouſy to reduce it under a military power? and that to put our truſt in foreign aid, would be ſhamefully expoſing our weakneſs to every invader.

The beſt means of ſecuring the intereſt, affection, and aid of an active brave people is not to diſarm them. The maſtiff will bite the hand that withholds him from his enemy: natural courage reſtrained will burſt out into acts of violence againſt the reſtraint. They who are deſcended from the blood of heroes, can never be reduced to a cowardly obedience. The very neglect of their aſſiſtance creates diſguſt. The thoughts of being ſuſpected of diſhonour and diſaffection provokes them to deſpair of relief, when their liberty, religion, or property is in danger. Deſpair is the harbinger of diſaffection; which often terminates in rebellion.

No people have given greater tokens of loyalty to their prince than the Engliſh: but they are equally attached to the defence of their own rights. When they are in danger, the heart dilates, and the pulſe riots with the brave emotions and dictates of freedom. They are never uneaſy with a perſon in power, provided they, by his actions, are convinced that he does not graſp at authority to amaſs wealth, execute revenge, or ſatiate any paſſion, except the luſt of eminence, and the ambition of ſerving his country.

country. And they have never ſcrupled to reſign their underſtanding to the dictates and admonitions of a magiſtrate, who purſues the publick intereſt; is carefull of their property, and allows them to arm themſelves, ſo far as they are able, in defence of their religion, laws, and liberty.

In a nation, where the crown is the gift of the ſubject, what power is ſo proper to defend the ſovereign's right as an army raiſed from amongſt thoſe, who placed him on the throne? and what power has he more reaſon to fear, than a people, who never ſuffered a contempt of their courage, nor a cauſeleſs ſuſpicion of their loyalty, nor a breach of their rights to paſs unreſented.

The ſafety of a ſtate is the harmony and mutual confidence between the prince and his ſubjects: and whoever attempts to diſturb that harmony, or deprive them of that confidence, ought to be ſuſpected of being a penſioner to the enemy, and of being ready to betray his maſter and his country to the firſt invader.

No. 33. SATURDAY, *March* 20, 1756.

That fort is unſafe, *where a part of the* Garriſon *conſiſts of* diſguiſed Enemies.

W. PENN's Perſuaſive to moderation.

To the MONITOR.

SIR,

TO be accuſed of abſurdity, falſhood, ignorance, rancour, and diſaffection to the government, and remain ſilent, would be a moderation not to be expected in any one, who makes truth and loyalty the ſtandard of his writings. To be traverſed for appearing in the cauſe of virtue and liberty, is very common; but ought not to paſs unanſwered: and to permit equivocation, effrontery, and falſe claims to religion and lenity, to abuſe the public, to choak the channels of truth, and to plead for a contempt of the laws, and a neglect of religious duties, is dangerous to the public weal.

THE Monitor, that has drawn upon you this heavy accuſation, and was publiſhed on the 14th *ult.* aſſerts the power of our Sovereign to proclaim a faſt, and to oblige his ſubjects to join with him in ſolemnizing the ſame by prayer, acts of humiliation, and a retirement from all kind of worldly buſineſs or employment, when

when the terrors of the Lord call us to repentance; and informs the reader, that the faſt was intended to unite ALL his majeſty's liege ſubjects in acts of adoration to the Almighty, for being our defence in times of danger; for having protected and preſerved us from imminent deſtruction of earthquakes; and to implore the divine bleſſing and aſſiſtance upon the councils and arms of theſe kingdoms, upon whoſe ſucceſs our *peace* and *ſafety*, *commerce*, *liberties*, and the exiſtence of the *Proteſtant religion* depend.

WILL the advocate for the *Quakers* deny the King's power, who commanded them to follow his example on that ſolemn occaſion? is there any miſrepreſentation in theſe facts? is not obedience to the power in being, a Chriſtian duty? is it not *abſurd* to plead conſcience, for not obeying the ſupreme magiſtrate in an ordinance for the public peace, ſafety, liberty, commerce, and religion? is it not rather abſurd in thoſe Quakers to call themſelves liege ſubjects, and to reject the authority, by which they are protected? is it any breach of charity to be jealous of the religious as well as political principles of ſuch a people, who refuſe to join with their fellow-ſubjects in acts of humiliation, to implore the protection of the Almighty, in times of general calamity and danger? and what but a ſtubborn, unruly, and hardened heart could have been deaf to the voice of their Sovereign, and prefer carnal advantages, and their

peculiar

peculiar humour, to the intereſt we ought to ſeek in GOD on a day of humiliation?

THESE are the principal aſſertions advanced in that paper, which, I am ſorry to ſay, are too well confirmed by facts. From whence the inferences of diſloyalty, diſobedience to authority, ſingularity, obſtinacy, and impiety, are fairly deduced, without any rancour, or abſurdity: and indeed without any other intention, than, by expoſing the evil tendency of their obſtinacy and ſelf-ſufficiency, to bring them to a better thought of their duty to God and the King.

BUT how little hopes are there of a people given up to a reprobate ſenſe! inſtead of amendment, their Monitor is traverſed with the worſt of names: he is ſtigmatized with the name of *mal-content*: his paper of the 14th *ult.* is called a collection of *falſities* and *abſurdities*. And their advocate, in order to maintain his allegations, immediately falls foul of kings, lords and commons, and all thoſe liege ſubjects, who frequented the place of public worſhip on the faſt-day, and in the lump accuſes them of hypocriſy; and the miniſters of the goſpel, of preaching perſecution, and principles oppoſite to the ſpirit of Chriſtianity. The frequenting of the houſe of prayer he admits to be only a *ſemblance* of piety: and the requiring the Quakers to obſerve the outward ordinance of the faſt, he upbraids with the name of compulſion, and perſecution; and yet would inſinuate that the *Quakers* complied alſo with the ordinance of the day;

and

and impeaches thoſe of falſhood, who aſſert to the contrary. But with what effrontery can a man aſſert, that the opening of Grace-church-ſtreet-meeting on the faſt-day was a proof of their obedience? was there any other meeting of the Quakers within the bill of mortality open on that day? was that meeting in Grace-church-ſtreet opened on that particular account to celebrate the faſt, or in obedience to the royal mandate? was it not a matter in courſe, which happens on every Friday for the tranſacting of affairs relating to their particular ſect? if ſo, it was neither a mark of their loyalty, nor a proof of their obedience.

THIS advocate to convince us more of his ability in equivocation, attempts to throw the blame of the community upon a *few*; upon, *three*, or *four*, or *half a dozen*, who are not conſiderable, either for their intereſt, abilities or wealth; and then aſks; Is it not the higheſt injuſtice to brand the whole body on *their account*, eſpecially when *nine tenths* of that body condemned them both by their teſtimony and example?

SUCH a heap of abſurdities and falſhood certainly, was never thrown together in ſo ſmall a compaſs! had the *leading* men in the ſociety: had nine tenths of that body condemned the few diſobedient of their perſuaſion; how can they reconcile the neglect of previouſly admoniſhing and exhorting their brethren to keep the faſt according to the royal command? why did they

not

not order the meetings to be opened in London, Weſtminſter, Southwark, and at Ratcliff? is it not moſt notorious that the meeting-houſe in Grace-church-Street is not capable of holding one fourth of the people called Quakers, who inhabit in and about this metropolis? How then can we give credit to one, who aſſerts, that nine tenths of that body condemned their diſobedient brethren both by their teſtimony and example, when they took no thought for the conveniency of their aſſembling together; and there was ſcarce a public ſtreet, where Quakers both of *ability* and *fortune*, both by their teſtimony and example, ſhewed that neither authority, nor religion was ſufficient to work upon them a reformation of that ſtubborn, and unruly principle, to obey neither GOD nor the King, further than is agreeable to their private opinion.

AS this is the true ſtate of the caſe; till their advocate can make good his aſſertion, that the faſt was kept by the *leading* men of that ſociety, and by nine tenths of the whole community, it is conſiſtent with the canons of logic, and with the dictates of common honeſty, to conclude that the *whole body* was diſorderly.

THE next particular advanced by this advocate is no leſs abſurd and falſe than the premiſes. He would inſinuate that the churchmen were ſpirited up by their teachers to break windows, *&c.* and that they ran out of church like men agitated with a ſpirit of deluſion, to vent their rage on two or three *weak* mortals, for not think-

thinking as they did. Is not this a very unfair repreſentation? to what can this torrent of calumny, directed againſt the whole body of the goſpel miniſtry, and their hearers, indiſcriminately, be imputed, but to the father of lies? The breaking of windows was an act of outrage, which ought not to be countenanced in a free ſtate, no more than the obſtinate contempt of the royal command. I think that both are criminal, and deſerve their due puniſhment, in proportion to their malignancy.

THE teſtimony of the apoſtle to countenance a neglect of days appointed to be kept holy, is far from affording any excuſe on this occaſion: for St. Paul plainly directs Chriſtians to obſerve thoſe days, as being moſt acceptable to the Almighty; he *who* KEEPETH *the day, keepeth it unto the* LORD, i. e. does God a reaſonable ſervice: but *he who keepeth* NOT *the day*, unto the LORD *he keepeth it* NOT, i. e. he doth not ſerve the Lord.

I READILY agree, that charity is the diſtinguiſhing principle of Chriſtianity, and that it reſtrains the ſpirit of compulſion, perſecution, and falſhood: but if the advocate ſtigmatizes the royal proclamation for a faſt with the name of compulſion: if he miſtakes the fury of a mob, agitated by the ſpirit, and provoked by the obſtinacy, and the Quakers natural averſion and contempt of authority, to inſult their perſons, or to injure their property, for perſecution: and if he be ſo far emerged in error as to conceive that

to be falſhood, which brings truth to light, I am very doubtful of his loyalty, religion, and pretences to the favour and protection of the law; eſpecially if we take a curſory ſurvey of their *principles* and *practices*.

THIS ſect, which ſeems by the indulgence of the ſtate and their own obſtinacy, to have got the ſtart of the act of Toleration, is a ſpawn of that enthuſiaſtic ſpirit, which ſpread through *Cromwell*'s army, and, after deſtroying the national conſtitution in church and ſtate, was improved by the artifices of the church of Rome to throw the nation into ſuch confuſion of religious principles, as might in time give her an opportunity to reinſtate her own power and doctrines. I could inform you of the confeſſion of a Jeſuit at St. *Omers*, who declared that they were twenty years hammering out the ſect of the Quakers in that college. In the mean time coblers and taylors, and ſuch tools of deluſion, were ſpirited up to ſcatter the ſeeds of enthuſiaſm and contempt of authority, till a proper ſyſtem might be agreed upon, and an artful bold writer appointed to collect them into a body, and to furniſh them with ſpecious arguments to maintain their innovations: which taſk was impoſed upon *Robert Barclay*, who was educated in the *Scotch convent* at *Paris*, and is the author of that apology, which, at this time, is the ſtandard of all their arguments. And conſequently it is here we are chiefly to ſeek for the

Quakers principles, both in regard to their religious and civil conduct.

Mr. BARCLAY's firſt care to ſecure theſe enthuſiaſts to his direction, was to feed the pride of man's ſelf-ſufficiency, by allowing the private ſpirit to be the only true guide in faith and practice. By which was laid a foundation of the doctrine of infallibility, to be lodged in ſome ſupreme court or aſſembly, when they could be regularly congregated; as is now to be ſeen in their monthly, quarterly, and yearly meetings.

HIS next and neceſſary ſtep to ſecure the former tenet, was to deprive the ſcriptures of that eſteem, in which they were always held by the orthodox for the rule of faith and conſcience. By this he made way for his own ſyſtem, and engaged them to put their faith in his dictates; juſt as the church of Rome impoſes legends and forgeries upon her adherents.

AND leſt a qualm of conſcience ſhould overturn his labours, and diſcover the deluſion, *this Jeſuit*, by comparing conſcience (which God has implanted in nature for a *candle* to guide us in the paths of righteouſneſs, under the direction of his word) to a *lanthorn*, rejected the teſtimony of that natural light, and pretending to mend what GOD had created perfect, ſubſtituted a light within that conſcience, of which there is not the leaſt mention in divine revelation, in order to ſooth the pride of his diſciples, and to have a reſerve to fly unto, when ſcripture, rea-

ſon, and conſcience convict them of irreligion and diſobedience to authority.

WHEN any ſet of people are once captivated with ſuch doctrines as theſe, what reſtraint can they be under? Their ſelf-ſufficiency taints them with a contempt of all that do not yield to their ſyſtem, and with a reſolution to reject all ordinances both human and divine. They are prepared to conceive every impreſſion, which worldly intereſt and an ambitious ſingularity ſhall dictate. And there can be no precept or point of faith ſo poſitive and clear, but may, by ſuch a *lanthorn*-conſcience be miſtaken and evaded.

IT is by this conſcience Mr. Barclay rejects the neceſſity of the goſpel-covenant, in order to ſalvation: and allows, that the neceſſity of a Saviour was known to the heathens by innate light or natural reaſon. By this he teacheth the doctrine of merit in our works, and of perfection and freedom from ſin in this life. By this, contrary to St. Paul, he recommends the preaching of women in the Church of Chriſt, and pretends to as good a proof of the female miniſtry among Quakers, as of thoſe, who were called, as was Aaron. But to paſs over the many new doctrines he introduceth contradictory to the inſtitutions of Chriſt, I ſhall only give you a ſpecimen of ſuch, as work powerfully upon the children of diſobedience, to the great diſorder and defiance of government in the ſtate. 'We, 'ſays Mr. Barclay, neither could ourſelves bear

'arms,

'arms, nor ſend others in our place; nor give 'our money for the buying military attire: we 'could not hold our doors, windows and ſhops 'cloſe, *for conſcience ſake*; upon ſuch days as 'faſts and prayers were appointed, for to deſire 'a bleſſing upon, and ſucceſs for the arms of 'the kingdom and commonwealth, under which 'we live; neither give thanks for the victories 'acquired by the effuſion of much blood.'

BEHOLD the tenet by which the *few*, as the advocate repreſents the *open-ſhop* Quakers, acted on the faſt-day! muſt not he who pretends to excuſe the *leading men* in the ſociety, confeſs, that the *few* acted conſiſtent with their *leading* principles: that the *leading men* dare not call them to an account in their aſſembly: and that the whole ſociety, who retain a doctrine they dare not diſannul in the practice of ſome few of their community, are anſwerable for the tranſgreſſion of thoſe *few*? and conſequently, all the inferences deduceable from thence are applicable to the whole body of Quakers; becauſe they retain the doctrine which encourages diſobedience to lawful authority, and refuſe to defend their country againſt an enemy.

IS this a proof of their peaceableneſs and order! does peace conſiſt in an obſtinate refuſal to defend the ſtate, under which they live and are protected; either in perſon, or with men or money, againſt the common enemy? *Is not the fort unſafe, where a part of the garriſon conſiſts of ſuch diſguiſed enemies?* Can they be

called an orderly ſet of people, whoſe conſcience will not permit them to comply with the decent commands of their Sovereign, when their own as well as the cauſe of their fellow-ſubjects is to be pleaded before the LORD?

HOW ſhall we be able to acquit a numerous people, who are *rich* and *powerful*, and have been particularly diſtinguiſhed by the indulgence of the legiſlature, from the crime of ingratitude, diſobedience, and diſloyalty; while they abet the unſocial principle of ſelf-defence? does not the nature of things make war neceſſary? are not all parts of the body politic concerned in the event of thoſe wars? how then can any part endeavour to ſkreen themſelves from the exigencies of the ſtate, in ſuch circumſtances; and to caſt all the charge and danger upon their fellow-ſubjects, without forfeiting their right to the protection and laws of that ſtate? and it has always been obſerved, that thoſe ſubjects, who are the moſt backward in the aſſiſtance of their country, are the moſt ready to join in its overthrow.

SOME other opportunity, I may perhaps give you a more particular account of the politics of the Quakers: for, though they affect to be peaceable, I could point out to you a *leading man* amongſt them, who has more than once been the chief inſtigator of the greateſt diſtraction and ſtrife amongſt the peaceable citizens of B——l; whoſe *Lanthorn*-conſcience will not let him contribute to the warfare of his country, but

but does not ſcruple to corrupt the conſciences of others with a bribe, contrary to the laws and conſtitution of the nation. I can ſcarce think that a people, whoſe principles, if we may believe *William Penn*, were againſt the revolution, and for the indulgence of the Roman Catholicks, as he has more particularly ſet forth in his *perſuaſive to moderation*; can be the moſt hearty for the ſupport of the preſent eſtabliſhment.

IT only remains, to conſider the advocate, where he declares his deteſtation of the MONITOR's *Politics*. In which declaration, he either betrays great ignorance; permits his rancour to over-heat his zeal; or, what I am rather inclined to ſuſpect, pays little regard to the authority and welfare of the preſent eſtabliſhment. For had he turned to the ſecond paper, he muſt have ſeen, that the political maxims of the *Monitor*, are, to ſupport the preſent eſtabliſhment; to oppoſe bad government; to make the ſpirit and end of the revolution the only meaſures of his conduct; to correct with temper; to diſcourage harpies of government; to ſupport the eſtabliſh'd religion; to aſſert the dominion of the ſea; to arm the people by a temperate and practicable militia; to encourage trade; to cheriſh and ſupport our colonies, *&c. &c.*

POLITICS becoming the moſt ſanguine friends of the Royal Family, and the Proteſtant Succeſſion! but how far they are agreeable to the

Quakers ſyſtem and conduct, I muſt leave the Public to determine.

Z.

No. 34. SATURDAY, *March* 27, 1756.

It is aſſented and accorded, that the Great Charter, *and the* Charter of the Foreſt *be holden and kept in* ALL *points: and if any Statute be made to the contrary, that ſhould be deemed* null *and* void. *Stat.* 42 EDW. III. c. 3. §. 2, 3.

THE late petition to parliament, and inſtructions to their members, by the Lord Mayor, Aldermen and Common Council of the City of LONDON, in oppoſition to the preſent m——l ſcheme of introducing all the inconveniencies and miſeries of a *general exciſe*, under the colour of a money-bill, to be raiſed upon plate; revive the grateful memory of former ſalutary interpoſitions of like ſort, when this metropolis ſtemm'd the overflowings of miniſterial attempts upon the liberties of the ſubject, and ſaved the nation from ruin. Such is the advantage of keeping a watch upon the advances of arbitrary power; never loſing ſight of the ſtandard of freedom, and of preſerving ſuch a council, as ſhall be always ready to ſtand up in defence of the great charters of the nation, when motions are made contrary to thoſe ſtatutes.

THIS

THIS reſpectable body, who on all ſuch occaſions, do not ſo much regard their own, as the national happineſs, are by the conſtitution of parliament indulged with the privilege of preſenting their petitions to that auguſt aſſembly by their ſheriffs, and to have them read at the table without the precarious formality of aſking the leave of the houſe for that purpoſe. A privilege, no doubt granted, on the ſtrong and juſt obſervation, that the corporation of the capital does never addreſs the great council of the nation with a ſpirit of faction, or party, nor on trivial occaſions, nor without ſufficient grounds of fear for the loſs, or invaſion of ſome legal right of the people.

HOW far I am warranted in this ſuppoſition on the preſent occaſion, will evidently appear by the charter'd privilege of every *Engliſh* ſubject, not to be *tried*, nor *condemned but by lawful judgment of his* PEERS; *i. e.* by a JURY of twelve men, of equal rank and intereſt with himſelf. And by the opinion of that venerable lawyer, my Lord Coke, who, notwithſtanding the power delegated to their repreſentatives, by the people, to act in their name, ſays; 'That it is the *law* and *cuſtom* of parliament, 'when any *new device* is moved on the King's 'behalf, in parliament, *for his aid*, or the like, 'the Commons may anſwer, that they tender 'the King's eſtate, and are ready to aid the 'ſame; only in this *new device* they *dare* not 'agree, without conference with their coun-

'tries:

'tries: accordingly, when a motion was made, '9 *Edw.* III. for a ſubſidy (or tax) of a new 'kind; the Commons anſwered, That they 'would have conference with thoſe of their ſe-'veral countries and places, *who had put them* '*in truſt*, before they treated of any ſuch 'matter.'

THEIR late petition, is to prevent the paſſing of a tax or *new device*, partial in its calculation; deſtructive of a very valuable and large body of the people; injurious to trade in general; oppreſſive in the act and method of executing; and contrary to the GREAT CHARTER of *Engliſh* liberties. And therefore, they have a right by the law and cuſtom of p———t, though ſuch an attempt of the miniſtry be called a money-bill for the King's aid, to inſtruct their members, entruſted with their liberties and property, how to conduct themſelves in regard to that *new device*.

A DEVICE, which, ſhould it be carried into execution, would expoſe every man of the nation to the hateful tax of exciſe, and to the vexatious and arbitrary proceedings of thoſe, who are hired by them, to whom exciſe is paid; except they, who ſwim in luxury, are contented to pay ten pounds for their unlimited poſſeſſion of above four thouſand ounces of ſilver bullion. A device calculated to lay the weight of the burden upon the middle ſtate of the nation. A device, which, as it will deter the bulk of the ſubjects from purchaſing a commodity, that would

would expoſe them to ſo great a loſs in their property, and to ſo many hazards and vexations in their perſons from a combination of informers and exciſemen, muſt put an end to a trade, which ever merited the favour of former times, is of conſiderable advantage to the revenue, and of great credit to the nation. A device, whoſe effects will not center in the extirpation of the ſilverſmiths, but affect every branch of trade, whoſe balance, as with *Spain*, cannot be made up without bullion. And a device, which cannot be put in execution without introducing a general exciſe: a word always odious to the people of England! of the ſeverity and vexations of whoſe laws and officers the people are weary of complaining; and whoſe extention can never be too vigorouſly oppoſed, let the pretences for laying it on, be ever ſo plauſible. Becauſe its proceedings are contrary to that right, which we claim by *magna charta* to be tried by JURIES.

IN all countries exciſes of every kind are looked on as badges of ſlavery: and the collecting of any duties under its laws has in all ages and in all countries been found the moſt grievous and the moſt oppreſſive method of raiſing money. The firſt eſſay of this hateful tax was made in a time of anarchy and confuſion, to feed the flame of rebellion; and I could wiſh it had not been ſo early copied by King *Charles*'s penſionary parliament after the reſtoration. However its diſagreeableneſs to a free people, who

who are always ready to aid a prince, who relies on the affections of his ſubjects, prevented the growth of this branch to any conſiderable grievance for ſeveral reigns: and even King William was ſo ſenſible of the danger, to which he was likely to be expoſed, by a prevailing report, that the nation, by his advice and conſent, was to be ſaddled with *Dutch* exciſes, that he wiſely by a public declaration diſavowed any ſuch intention. But we have ſeen times when they have been multiplied almoſt without number upon a drowſy people, who could not open their eyes to diſcover their evil tendency, till awakened with the bold attempt to rivet their chains with a general exciſe; and were delivered from their danger, by the vigilance, activity, and intereſt of this metropolis.

Nor is the conſtitution of our government, and the liberty of the ſubject, leſs concerned in the iſſue of the preſent motion for an exciſe upon plate: it threatens a more general oppreſſion, as it lays not only the ſhopkeepers and dealers open to the caprice of informers, and the viſits of exciſemen, and to the private deciſions of commiſſioners; but every other perſon in the kingdom, who does not pay ten pounds *per annum* for the uſe of his own plate. If this ſcheme ſucceeds, the conſtitution may be endangered, by granting to the crown too great an extent of power; and our liberty, which is already retrenched very much by the preſent exciſe,

exciſe, and over-awed by a ſtanding army, may expire.

LIBERTY is too valuable to be ſported with, or wantonly given up. There can be no neceſſities of the ſtate ſo great as to be held in competition therewith. Money may be abſolutely neceſſary to ſave the ſtate from the arms of an enemy: yet even that greateſt of all neceſſities, is not to be preferred to the loſs of liberty. Let the exigencies of the ſtate be ſupplied out of the property; but let not the method of aſſeſſing it be a yoke more grievous than an enemy's ſword. It is not the being governed by a wiſe and good King, that makes the ſubjects a free people. The Romans were as great ſlaves under the few good emperors, as under the moſt cruel of their tyrants. All governors may not make the ſame wicked uſe of power: but the people muſt always be ſlaves, after they have empowered their rulers to oppreſs them. This influenced our anceſtors to be as jealous of their liberties, under the wiſeſt and moſt gracious ſovereigns, as under the worſt of our kings: and they were never impeached of diſloyalty or diſaffection for uſing all peaceable methods to preſerve and ſecure them.

IT is certain, that in the preſent criſis, and according to the preſent expenſive armament, money muſt be had: who denies it? but muſt the ſubject with his money give up his liberty alſo? which every one does, ſo far as he tacitly conſents to any act, contrary to his eſtabliſhed rights.

rights. Is not every man's houſe his caſtle? a ſacred repoſitory of his family and property? how grievous then would it be to have it laid open to a paltry exciſeman? againſt whoſe ſchemes and foibles, inveſted with the power of a deputation, the moſt blameleſs conduct can yield no ſecurity. Innocency is no protection from informers: and exciſe officers, who are generally profeſſed advocates for arbitrary power, or picked out of the loweſt claſs of men, either for abilities, fortune, or morals, can invent twenty ways to teize and vex the moſt innocent man upon earth.

I DOUBT not therefore to ſee this laudable example of the city of *London* ſeconded by the wiſeſt and moſt conſiderable corporations in thoſe kingdoms; and, as the *device* is NEW, which is propoſed for their conſent, to whom the people have entruſted their property; a conference with their conſtituents before they are drawn by m———l arts to treat of ſuch matters, will be the beſt recommendation to their future favours, and of that integrity and wiſdom, for which the repreſentatives of the people ought to be diſtinguiſhed.

How odious muſt be the memory of a man, who built up his family upon the ruins of that liberty he was choſen to defend? who for a place or a penſion, betrayed the national truſt, and not only plundered, but placed his conſtituents under the power of the worſt of wretches. How deteſtable ought ſuch a proceeding be deemed,

deemed, which is calculated to oppreſs the moſt induſtrious part of the nation, and conducted with a ſecreſy, and hurry, and extention of power, which indicates an intention not only to deprive the repreſentatives of an opportunity to confer with, or to take the inſtructions of their conſtituents, in a matter of the utmoſt importance to their well-being: but to prevent all petitions or remonſtrances from the people againſt its fatal conſequences? is it not alone a ſufficient reaſon to oppoſe, or to enquire ſtrictly into a *new device*, when it is uſhered into P——t without previous notice, at the latter end of a ſeſſions, and by a few ſervants of the crown? and diſcovers partiality in the firſt inſtance, and oppreſſion in its effects?

It favours the rich, and loads the leſſer Freeholders with the weight of the tax: and it deprives the injured of the aid of juries, tho' Biſhop Burnet informs us, 'That it is not the 'nobility or gentry, are the moſt worthy, 'virtuous, and honeſt part of the kingdom: 'but the farmers, traders, and middling peo-'ple.' 'Tis from ſuch alone juſtice and impartiality are to be expected, if we read the hiſtories of all times and places: of ſuch are our juries, and by ſuch, according to MAGNA CHARTA, ought all our diſputable affairs to be determined; and not by a board of commiſſioners, who are dependants of the crown.

The nature of freedom conſiſts, in being governed by equal and ſtanding laws of our own

own making; laws to which we ourſelves have conſented; laws by which no prerogatives or privileges are given to one ſet of men to domineer and lord it over the reſt; and laws, by which even the executors of the laws are made accountable to the people for their conduct. Should then the king, lords, and repreſentatives of the people, paſs an act to oblige all the Freeholders in the kingdom to pay to the public forty *per cent.* of the annual income of their eſtates according to the rack rent; and to pay the ſame upon all goods, chattels, money, moveables, and immoveables; but with this particular exemption of themſelves; and all who poſſeſs above three hundred pounds *per annum*, that they ſhall pay only ten *per cent.* upon all poſſeſſions ſpecified; Where would be our freedom? would ſuch a law be equal? could it be imagined any people would empower their deputies, or conſent for them, to make ſuch a law? would it not be eſtabliſhing an *oligarchy*, or a tyranny of the *richer* over the *poorer?* yet this will be the caſe ſhould the preſent ſcheme for taxing wrought plate be carried into execution: or wherever a ſet of men can be ſuppoſed inveſted with an abſolute and independant power to diſpoſe of the liberties and properties of their fellow citizens without any reſtriction, controul, incitement to juſtice, or dread of puniſhment.

How can a people be ſaid to make laws, or to conſent to laws, which they never heard of? were

were ever laws, contrived by a miniſter of ſtate, ſupported by a faction, whoſe private emolument made them forget their duty to their conſtituents, and their care of the conſtitution, the means of preſerving the freedom of the people and the independency of parliament? We are vain-glorious enough to prefer the excellency of our conſtitution to the beſt governed republics of Greece and Rome: and indeed, its original ſtate, guarded by the legal rights and privileges of the people, cannot be too much magnified. But the Athenians never ſubmitted to a new law, in their ſtate of liberty, till it had been fixed up before the ſtatues of their heroes, where ALL the citizens might read what was to be propoſed at their next meeting, and be able to paſs a mature judgment upon it. In the aſſembly no man was debarred the liberty to deliver his opinion. Nor did any contriver of a *new device*, which upon mature deliberation, was found to invade the liberty of the ſubject, or to ruin any part of the body politic, eſcape the juſt reſentment of the nation; for tho' they did not, as the Locrians, oblige every one that propoſed a new law, or the abrogation of an old law, to come into the aſſembly with a halter about his neck, and in that poſture to give his reaſons for what he offered, that he might immediately be ſtrangled, ſhould his device be diſapproved; the Athenians ordained, that whoever had eſtabliſhed a law without publiſhing his propoſals in due time, for its being conſider-

ed by the whole republic; or had propoſed it in fallacious or ambiguous terms; or had propoſed any thing contrary to any of the former received laws, he might be called in queſtion and puniſhed, within the ſpace of one whole year, after ſuch an attempt upon the public liberty. The Romans did not copy the ſeverity of the Athenians, but they have left us an example of the expediency to have all *new laws* introduced; not under the protection of a majority of votes among the deputies, but openly and with the knowledge and approbation of the people; by hanging up the intended law, for the ſpace of twenty-ſeven days, in the market-place; that the people, who were to be bound thereby, might have an opportunity and time to conſider its expediency, and to prepare againſt all innovations in their conſtitution. And yet there came a time, when the people of both theſe republics fell into ſuch a ſupine neglect of their freedom, and the intoxicating philtre of power in their rulers got ſuch aſcendant of their integrity and duty, that negligence and connivance were diſcovered to be a rich ſoil properly adapted to nouriſh and foſter the noxious weeds of tyranny and oppreſſion. Athens was enſlaved by an *ariſtocracy* of four hundred, and the liberties of the Roman people were baſely trampled upon by the *decemviri*, whom they had choſen to be guardians of their freedom and property.

THERE-

THEREFORE every true Briton ought to watch againſt all innovation upon their laws, and nip oppreſſion in the bud. Little things often ariſe to be great; and ſmall encroachments upon liberty may be quoted for precedents; and, if not ſtopped, may arrive to deſpotic tyranny: which is never more evidently ſeen, than in thoſe laws which give an abſolute power to a few men, appointed by the ſovereign alone, to diſpoſe of the property of their fellow ſubjects, without a *jury*, without *appeal*, *&c. &c.*

LET the miniſtry take care of the commerce, ſo that the poor may find employment, and our manufacturers a market: let them provide ſecurity for our mercantile navigation: and let them abſtain from all methods of raiſing money, which are partial and oppreſſive: and they need never fear a chearful contribution, to ſupport the dignity of the crown, the Proteſtant ſucceſſion, and to ſtrengthen their hands againſt all attempts upon the liberties and properties of the people. P.

No. 35. SATURDAY, *April* 3, 1756.

Sic parvis componere magna ſolebam.
VIRG. Ecl. prima.

The Caſe of Mr. JOHN BULL, *Clothier, of* Wooton-Under-edge, *in the County of* Glouceſter, *as drawn up by Dr.* Galen.

THE perſon, whoſe caſe is here repreſented, is a man advanced in years; but of ſo robuſt and good a conſtitution, that nothing but time, or mal-practice, could well have hurt it. He had made a quick return of wives; having formerly buried one in three years, and latterly one in ſeven, at moſt: for, neither his conſtitution, nor the affairs of his family, would permit him to live long in a ſingle ſtate: however, he was generally unlucky in his choice; being ſo far from having any portions with them; that, as is the cuſtom in ſome countries, he purchaſed them with his own money; and which was ſtill worſe, they for the moſt part had proved falſe, extravagant, and ſelf-willed, and ſhewed little regard to his true intereſt. So that inſtead of growing rich by their mortality (as is the uſual caſe) he grew poorer and poorer. The conſequence of ſo much *wiving*, was a numerous progeny; many of which

which he had ſettled handſomely in the world: nevertheleſs, what by loſſes and diminution of trade: what by the immenſe weight of taxes; which the ſuppoſed exigencies of the ſtate laid upon them, they were, in general, far from being in a thriving way: ſome were actually ruined; others ſtood upon the very brink of bankruptcy.

JOHN himſelf was a plain-hearted, induſtrious, compaſſionate, frugal, and ſenſible man, and did from time to time, all that lay in his power to aſſiſt his children, and keep their heads above water; and indeed he had an admirable trade, both foreign and domeſtic, beſides a good eſtate: otherwiſe it had been impoſſible for him to have anſwered ſo many calls. However, in length of time, things growing worſe and worſe; he found his fortune in a ſinking condition; which, to a man all his lifetime uſed to proſperity, is a cutting circumſtance. This unhappy change firſt operated upon his ſpirits, and brought on a deep hypochondriac affection, attended with many ſtrange ſymptoms and phenomena. The ſudden alteration in his look and manner became matter of obſervation to all his neighbours; and the remarks they made thereupon were various: one cried, what, in the name of wonder! is come to our old friend, John? he is certainly bewitched: I wiſh the old hag upon the green has done him no miſchief. Another, placed above the reach of ſuch credulity and ſuperſtition, ſaid; I

have heard it whiſpered, his finances are in no good way, notwithſtanding the outward port and ſplendor of ſome parts of his family. This is certain, his preſent wife is a falſe, luxurious, and extravagant huſſy; and old Hubble-bubble, the upper ſteward, has had intrigues with her, not much to her honour, or John's benefit. Nevertheleſs, Bull being one of the ancient family of the hen-pecks; he is forced for peace and quietneſs ſake, to wink hard, and hold his tongue: beſides, it is evident to all, he has been notoriouſly cheated by his ſervants, ſuperior and ſubordinate: they generally grow rich, except thoſe who live high, and ſpend as faſt as it comes in; and this has no good aſpect for the maſter. So that who can tell how his affairs ſtand? But be the cauſe of his malady what it may; they all agreed, he is certainly a-going.

The diſtemper daily gathering ground, and ſymptoms becoming more and more violent; Mrs. Bull at length ſeemed much affected with his condition; and, as is the manner of many a bad wife, was on a ſudden very tender and good towards him; whether to atone for paſt tranſgreſſions, or with a view of being more amply diſtinguiſhed in his will, I cannot ſay: and in theſe fits of affection was very preſſing to have a phyſician ſent for. Mr. Bull ſtood out for a while, apprehending his caſe not to lie within the reach of medicines; at length however, whether to get rid of her importunity, or from a natural love of life, or fear of death, he

yielded; and I was called in. When I came into the parlour, I found my patient in an eaſy chair; (for diſtempers of this claſs ſeldom confine perſons to their chamber or beds;) and making my ſcrape and bow, I addreſſed him thus. — Mr. Bull! how do you do? I hope the apprehenſions of your good wife are greater than your real danger; and ſhould be glad if you would favour me with the ſtory of your complaints: poſſibly it may lie within the compaſs of my art to palliate your diſtemper, at leaſt, if not radically cure it. Alas! alas! good Doctor; I would not willingly affront a gentleman, or put an indignity upon your profeſſion: my malady is originally ſeated in my mind; and by the laws of union has ſo weakened and inverted my bodily powers, that I am infallibly a dead man; unleſs you can find ſome medicine, that will reach my ſoul: — O Sir! I replied: do not deſpair; there is an equal and contrary action and reaction between our two conſtituent parts; as the mind affects the body, the body reciprocally affects the mind: and if I can give eaſe to the former, it will be a good ſtep towards receiving the latter. Pray, Sir! be explicit; tell me diſtinctly, what your bodily ailments are. Ah, Doctor! fetching a deep ſigh; I who have enjoyed formerly the beſt ſtate of health, and have by nature the beſt conſtitution in the world, have now not one or two, but a thouſand complaints; and were I

to call my diſtemper by one name, it muſt be *legion*.

SOMETIMES I have a ſwimming in my head, and a violent pain juſt upon my temples, which affects my underſtanding to ſuch a degree, that I am for the time little better than a driveller: I have ſuch an undulating motion in my nerves, that if any body comes upon me unexpected, or the door be opened ſuddenly, I ſhake like a paralitick. Sometimes I fancy my head transformed into the ſhape of a ram with horns, and am ready to butt, inſtead of bowing at every body that comes near me. No ſooner am I laid down in my bed, than my heart beats and bounds, as if it would leap thro' my breaſt; beſides, ſomething is perpetually riſing up to my throat, and almoſt ſuffocates me; and although I gulp and ſwallow it down every minute; the next minute it returns as true as the vibrations of a pendulum: add to this an unaccountable croaking and working in my bowels, as if there were frogs within me. During theſe ſymptoms, I get not a wink of ſleep; and in this uneaſy condition I lie, till nature is wearied out. Then I fall into ſhort and unquiet ſlumbers; which, when I riſe in the morning, I find yield me little or no refreſhment. Theſe are the principal lines in the picture of my diſtemper; but I have a thouſand other ſad feelings; which I want words to expreſs. Mrs. Bull ſat all the time by, ſhaking her head, and in terms of ſympathy and tender-

neſs

neſs gave teſtimony to this her huſband's relation.—Well; Sir! your caſe is bad enough; but don't be dejected: don't deſpair; I am confident, I can give you ſpeedy eaſe by ſome preſcription I ſhall leave with your apothecary; but whilſt you take them, you muſt have a critical regard to your *regimen* in diet; and, when you are a little better, to exerciſe too: that is, you muſt never ride, either on horſeback, or in your coach, to laſſitude; and your food ſhould be of the eaſieſt digeſtion; *viz.* a light bread-pudding, and white meats: or, of the brown ſort, none but mutton, and that boiled: and as you have been always uſed to a chearful cup, I will allow you a pint of hock a day; part mixed with a little water, part in its genuine form. Such a method, by the aid of a few medicines, will, I verily believe, be of ſervice to you; but I muſt tell you plainly, like an honeſt phyſician; your perfect recovery muſt be the work of time.

Some days after I was ſent for again; and Mrs. Bull meeting me at the door, cries out, lifting up her hands; Lord, Doctor! we are all untwiſted, all undone; my huſband, ſince you ſaw him, has grown worſe and worſe: he talks and raves, ſometimes like a bedlam; then on a ſudden falls into a ſullen fit, and won't ſpeak a word; and I am afraid, good Sir! his diſtemper will terminate at laſt in a ſettled frenzy. If you ſuſpect this, or apprehend him in imminent danger of dying; I beg you, Sir, to

touch him tenderly upon the article of a will; for I have reaſon to believe, he has not made one; and I muſt tell you, in confidence, as a friend to me and the family, that his affairs are in ſuch a diſtracted ſituation, that ſhould he die inteſtate, or leave a knave his executor, we may be all ruined. I know very well, that many of his eſtates are mortgaged for as much as they are worth; and his accounts current, I am afraid, are in no good condition.

AFTER this ſhort interview with Mrs Bull, I ſtepped in, and finding Mr. Bull in the parlour, as before, I addreſſed him thus—Sir! I hope you will not be alarmed, and conclude your caſe worſe from my paying you ſo ſoon this ſecond viſit; and I ſhall rejoice to hear, that the method and medicines I adviſed, have given you eaſe.—Ah Doctor! I ſhould rejoice too, could I ſay they had: but I feel myſelf every day loſing ground; and am ſatisfied, all is in a manner over. Beſides, the fetid pills and *Caſtor drops* you preſcribed, are ſo nauſeous to my palate, which has never been uſed to phyſick; that I cannot poſſibly go on with them, be the event what it will. It is ſome comfort to me, however, to reflect, that I have not brought my death upon myſelf. The vexation of my mind, which is the root of my diſorder, is not owing to any miſconduct of my own; but I muſt tell you, as a ſecret, my latter wives have in a manner ruined me; and even my preſent wife; although in juſtice I muſt confeſs, ſhe has done

ſome

ſome things commendably enough; yet for all that ſpecious appearance before you, ſhe is at the bottom a mere jade: her heart, her tongue, her looks ſeldom tally; and ſhe is ſo abſolutely in the hands of Hubble-bubble, our old ſteward, that he turns her to his own purpoſes, without a due regard to my peace, honour, or welfare. In ſhort, her ignorance, her paſſiveneſs, and implicit faith in him, have run me over head and ears in debt; and it is impoſſible for me to extricate myſelf as long as I live: and when withal I conſider, how baſely I have been uſed by my other ſervants, who are principally hired by him, and who are too numerous for any one man to inſpect narrowly; baſe, ungrateful varlets! for no man gives better wages, pays more punctually, or uſes them better than I do; though I ſay it: When all theſe grievances are compacted into one body, and ſtrike my imagination with a combined force, they in a manner overwhelm and diſtract me; and if I live but a little longer, I ſuppoſe my friends will be forced to write to Dr. Munro to ſave for me a cell in Bedlam: and, as the fear of this gives me infinitely more pain than the apprehenſion of death itſelf, you will conclude, Doctor, that ſuch a world has no charms for me, and I care not how ſoon I quit my mortal exiſtence.

Well, Mr. Bull; ſince I find your mind in ſo philoſophic a tone; perfectly ſerene, and in full poſſeſſion of its ſenſes, I will deal clearly with

with you; (though it be not our common method, becauſe few are prepared and fortified to receive the intelligence) I muſt then tell you plainly, that conſidering the nature of your diſtemper, the impoſſibility of removing the cauſe of it, in any reaſonable time, and your years; theſe things laid together, unwillingly extort from me this opinion, that you are not a man long for this world, and I would adviſe you, if not done already, to ſettle your temporal affairs. It may prevent confuſion and diſtraction in your family, and keep them out of the hands of thoſe harpies, the lawyers, who will eat deep into your fortune. Having given this advice, as a friend to the family, with which for many years I had been acquainted, I took my leave, and my horſes being at the door, I mounted immediately, and returned to Glouceſter. — Thus far Dr. Galen.

THE ſequel came by another channel; but how, or from whom, is not very material to the reader.

THE hint about making a will ſtuck in John Bull's ſtomach, and gave him ſome uneaſineſs; for although he thought the thing prudent and right, for reaſons given by the Doctor; yet in the dark and perplex'd ſtate of his affairs, (as is the common caſe;) he ſcarce knew how to ſet about it, becauſe he knew not what he was worth; he thought indeed, there would be a tolerable ſurplus, after all debts and demands were paid; but what it would turn out depended

depended upon ſo many contingencies, that he could not be exact and particular. However, he took opportunities in his wife's abſence, to minute down in a looſe paper, which he kept in his pocket-book, the materials of an intended *will*, which he might alter, as he ſaw proper, and afterwards reduce into a regular form; which is, as follows.

FIRST; As to my wife; — ſhe deſerves nothing; but as I have always kept her, as a gentlewoman, my memory will ſuffer, if I leave her deſtitute of a maintenance. It is true, ſhe has a large acquaintance among the freethinkers; but I have no high idea of the charity of folks who have no principles. Well! I think, I cannot leave her leſs than one hundred pounds *per annum*; and fifty pounds to be paid her immediately upon my deceaſe to anſwer preſent calls; beſides furniture for a houſe of two rooms on a floor, and of my plate as ſhe ſhall chuſe, not making full *one hundred ounces*. This is but a ſcanty annuity, conſidering the manner ſhe has always lived in; but I cannot help it: ſhe may thank herſelf; for ſhe has had a main hand in reducing me. And as ſhe always approved of the tax upon coach-wheels; it will now come home to her, and ſhe muſt walk on foot, or hire ſome farmers breaſt-cart, to go abroad, if ſhe cannot be contented to ſtay at home.

SUPPOSE I leave my eldeſt ſon John, whom I had by a former wife, about forty-four years ſince,

ſince, my farm in the pariſh of *Woolpack*, it will be bread for him if he ſhuts up ſhop; and this I fear he muſt ſoon do. Poor fellow! he has always been induſtrious, lived hard; and yet, what with bad debts and public taxes, he could never get forward in the world; beſides, that Lewis Draper at the Flower-de-lys, has ſtolen from him ſome of his beſt cuſtomers, and is ſtill uſing all his tricks to get away the reſt. He has always been a dutiful ſon to me; and being the head of my decayed family, I cannot well do leſs for him than this.

I INTEND to have all my other eſtates ſold, as well as my ſtock in trade, and my other goods and chattels; and after my debts are paid, to have the reſidue equally divided among my children, and grand-children; but I propoſe they ſhall have five guineas each to buy them a ring, immediately paid upon my demiſe; and I deſire the males may beſpeak a mourning one of the ſignet form, with the arms of *Old England* engraved upon it, as quartered in Queen *Elizabeth*'s reign — with JOHN BULL, *clothier*, and the date of the year round them, in the manner of our current coin: and I deſire further; that they would wear it conſtantly in memory of me.

I AM maſter of a pretty many good pictures; ſome purchaſed by my anceſtors, a few by myſelf, in the days of proſperity; and wiſh I could afford to preſent them to my friends; but they muſt be turned into money: however, I hope the

the anniverſary *White Lion Club* in *Briſtol* will accept of my own picture by Kneller, and honour it with a place in their great dining-room. This I bequeath as a teſtimony of my gratitude to them, who have all been my very good friends, and did all in their power to prevent my ruin.

I OUGHT in compaſſion to leave ſome little matter to *Eugenius*, the poor vicar of my pariſh; he has not above fifty pounds *per annum* clear; is a man of an exemplary life, and as good a ſcholar I have heard (for I do not pretend to be a judge myſelf) as ſome of our biſhops. I hope I can ſpare him twenty pounds, which will buy him a new gown and caſſock; for he has not had one for thirty years; and there will be enough left to buy his wife a decent Sunday-gown, ſhe having none at preſent but ſtuff-ones of her own ſpinning.

As to my ſervants, I would not, were my circumſtances better, leave them a year's wages, or mourning, which perhaps they may expect; but their comfort is, they do not want either: I took ſeveral of them into my family without a coat to their backs, and now they wear, and can afford to wear, better cloaths than many of my own children.

THESE were the minutes and memorandums of a projected *will*; which, as I hinted, I would not have the reader over-curious to know how I came by; but whether they were ever digeſted

digeſted into a regular and legal form, I cannot ſay.

Mr. FREEHOLDER.

WHEN this manuſcript came to hand, I at firſt glance took it for a real caſe in phyſic, and had a thought of ſending it to the college at Edinburgh, to be inſerted in their *medical eſſays*, if they judged it worthy of a place: but conſulting a friend, who had ſtudied phyſic, he told me, there was nothing very ſingular and extraordinary in it, even ſuppoſing it to be real; and that I might ſoon ſatisfy myſelf in that point, if I would give myſelf the trouble of looking into Sydenham, or any other good writer upon hyſteric and hypochondriacal diſeaſes.

BUT Sir! ſays he, don't you plainly perceive it to involve a ſecondary ſenſe, and to be nothing but an allegory, carried on under the image of private and particular perſons? if my friend be right, the reader will have the pleaſure of flattering his ſagacity in developing the concealed meaning; and, if it falls in with the deſign of your plan, you are at liberty, Mr. Freeholder! to give it the public, or throw it aſide among your waſte papers, it being entirely ſubmitted by

Your very humble Servant,

D. PUBLICOLA.

No. 36. SATURDAY, *April* 10, 1756.

A Prince may have better information of his true intereſt, from the public voice of his People, than from private Whiſperers.

Marq. HALLIFAX's Maxims.

Mr. FREEHOLDER.

SIR,

BY the laſt Poſt we have received his Majeſty's meſſage to both houſes of parliament; which, though it gives us the greateſt concern, to find our Sovereign, and his kingdoms threatened with an hoſtile invaſion from France; perſuades every true Briton, that the time is come, when his Majeſty may be convinced, not only of the loyalty, but courage of his Britiſh ſubjects.

IF we rightly underſtand the royal meſſage, his Majeſty, after the Divine Protection, places his whole truſt in the good *affections*, *zeal*, and *fidelity* of his PEOPLE, and is determined to arm them, in defence of his crown, the Proteſtant religion, and the laws and liberties of theſe kingdoms; that being the only *legal* and *effectual* means and force, which GOD *has put into his hands, to repel ſo daring an attempt*; if

we may credit the authority of the *militia bill*, now depending in parliament.

THE happy effects of this declaration are rather to be felt in a heart, like yours, zealous for the happineſs of Britain, than to be delineated by the moſt eloquent orator. Every man of us immediately renewed our allegiance, and engaged to unite under the royal banner, when called upon to diſappoint and repel ſo deſperate, injurious, and preſumptuous an enterprize. But, Mr. Freeholder! in the midſt of theſe moſt ſanguine proteſtations of unſhaken zeal, vigour, and unanimity, at the hazard of our lives and fortunes to ſtand by his Majeſty in this critical conjuncture, our hopes and courage were damped by a ſort of people, who, under the name of *friends* to the government, begun to ſow tares; and, under the pretence of being more perfectly acquainted with the ſtile and meaning of the r—l m——e, have taken much pains to perſuade us that we are quite ignorant of the language of the court, and would inſinuate that his M——y is ſo far from truſting to the affections, zeal, fidelity, and united force of the brave Britons, which GOD has put into his hands, that he is reſolved to call in an army of foreigners.

A ſuggeſtion ſo obnoxious to the friends of the conſtitution, or of that rule, by which princes ought to govern at all times, that we cannot forbear lodging our proteſt againſt it, and ſignifying our ſuſpicion of their fidelity, who

dare venture either to wrong the ſubject in his Majeſty's eſteem, by creating in him a jealouſy of their affections, or to leſſen that confidence, which is the cement of union and ſtrength between the King and his people! Such pretended friends may bear the ſemblance of affection to their prince, and of zeal for his government: but they, who can adviſe, promote, or defend any meaſure contrary to the natural intereſt of their country, will not be true to any other.

AT laſt the debate ran high; and as each ſide has its advocates, it was agreed by the real friends of our conſtitution to publiſh their motives of incredulity.

Is it poſſible for a prince, who for nine and twenty years, and in times of the greateſt trial, has experienced the aid and courage of his ſubjects in the ſupport of his crown and dignity, and the deſtruction of his enemies, to be capable of miſtruſting their affections? can they, who have conſented to the perpetuating of their taxes, to the augmenting of the revenues of the crown, far above thoſe in former reigns, and have acquieſced in, and ſupported every meaſure, tho' ever ſo expenſive, ſuſpect any equivocation or mental reſervation, when they hearken to the throne? would it not ſavour of the higheſt diſreſpect, to queſtion the ſincerity of a ſovereign, and to imagine that he who ſays, that under GOD, he puts his truſt in *the affections, zeal, and fidelity of his people*, ſhall at the ſame time

believe them to be, and treat them as diſaffected to his perſon and family, backward in his ſervice, and not to be truſted with arms of defence? it is no better than impeaching majeſty itſelf of uttering a falſhood, to inſinuate his fear of truſting himſelf and crown in the hands of the people, who made him the greateſt, moſt ſplendid and the moſt powerful king upon earth; and whoſe loyalty *he acknowledges to have ſo often experienced.* His Majeſty can never forget the many laws, to which his faithful Britiſh ſubjects have voluntarily conſented, to enlarge his power by abridging their own privileges; of which all trials without juries, a ſtanding army, votes of credit, the ſuſpenſion of the *Habeas Corpus*, *&c.* are notorious examples. Therefore gratitude and intereſt, as well as wiſdom and integrity, which ſhine ſo eminently in his Majeſty, will not permit us to harbour the leaſt ſuſpicion, that the ſtile and meaning of the royal meſſage are incompatible: though it muſt be acknowledged, that there have been meſſages in former times, which were not dictated by the king, but by his miniſters, and were calculated to empower the crown to raiſe forces without limitation, to enter into expenſive alliances, and to put the nation to an infinite expence.

THAT great preparations of land forces, ſhips, artillery, and warlike ſtores are now notoriouſly making in the ports of France, oppoſite to the Britiſh coaſts; and that the French miniſters

miniſters at foreign courts have not publickly diſavowed the ſuſpicion of their court's intention to make an hoſtile invaſion upon Great-Britain, or Ireland, may be all true: but it is moſt likely to be only a refinement in French politics, or a ſtratagem to load Britain with all the incumbrances of a war, and to draw off our attention from the main object of our preſent care and diſpute: while they ſtrengthen their colonies to carry their grand ſcheme of monopolizing the American trade into execution, and at the ſmall expence of marching part of their ſtanding forces to the towns oppoſite to the Britiſh coaſt, frighten a diſarmed people into the moſt expenſive and hazardous expedient of importing forces from the heart of Germany.

THE extraordinary preparations of bombs and other ſtores for ſieges ſhould convince us, that they cannot be deſigned againſt a nation that has not one regular fortified town: and they, who ſhall ſeriouſly calculate the number of veſſels requiſite for the tranſporting of ſixty thouſand ſoldiers, horſe and foot, with all the artillery, tents, baggage, and warlike ſtores, proviſions, and other neceſſaries for their landing and ſupport, on an iſland, where they muſt fight for every inch of ground, and every mouthful of proviſions, and muſt alſo be left without means of retreat, in caſe of a defeat, can never be deceived by thoſe appearances, to give credit to their improbable deſtination for *Britain* or *Ireland*; except we could ſuppoſe

the preſent as much overſeen, as that miniſtry, which ſent a Britiſh ſquadron to convoy and place *Don Carlos* on the throne of Naples. It is known, that our navy was never ſo powerful, nor better managed; and it is as well known, that France, at this juncture, is ſo diſtreſſed in its ſhipping, that her merchant-men dare not ſtir out of port; and her men of war are neither ſo numerous, nor ſo well furniſhed with men, as to venture in ſight of the *Britiſh* navy. How then, in the name of reaſon, can there be any grounds for this fear of an invaſion? It is moſt probable, that their fleets remaining ſo long in their harbours are not deſigned againſt this iſland, but againſt a place which cannot be approached ſo early in the ſpring: and that all the inſinuations otherwiſe have been made to put us upon a wrong ſcent, and to reduce our finances without the leaſt advantage.

It can avail the advocates for German auxiliaries very little, to ſhelter their argument under his Majeſty's requiſition of a body of *Heſſians, &c.* becauſe, as the conſtitution of Great-Britain has appointed a council, without which the King cannot act; if we diſcover in a king, what may have been noticed in ſome of his predeceſſors, a natural bias to his native country, and that his affection for G——n ſubjects and relations has prevailed upon him to deſire a meaſure in government, which is not warrantable by the laws of Britain, nor ſo effectual for her defence,

defence, as the arms of Britiſh ſubjects, there can be no argument drawn from thence to defend ſuch a requiſition; for, though it would reflect great applauſe on the preſent, as well as on his late Majeſty, to indulge natural affection for German forces, it is criminal in Britiſh miniſters and counſellors to flatter the Prince, by ſacrificing their ſincerity to their complaiſance, and for the ſake of gaining an intereſt in the cabinet, not to oppoſe ſuch a meaſure, when they ſhall ſee it is neither conſiſtent with the intereſt nor laws of the nation. And a Britiſh miniſter may often perceive this, when it cannot be expected from his maſter, who, diveſted of his council, may be blinded and miſled by natural affection. Therefore in all theſe debates, let the name of majeſty be ſacred; it is only uſed by the miniſtry to enforce their proceedings. Whatever is wrong muſt be imputed to thoſe paraſitical aſſentators, who do not oppoſe nor ſhew the leaſt diſlike to what they find their maſter naturally deſirous of; and it is upon them and them alone the national vengeance ought to fall, ſhould the Britiſh dominions ſuffer by their evil counſel, partiality, or complaiſance.

SHOULD it, at laſt, appear that the intelligence of a French invaſion is groundleſs, or that the natural ſtrength of Britain, properly exerted, would be ſufficient to defend our king and country, or ſhould it ſo turn out, upon enquiry, that the requiſition of foreign aid is only a prudential

tial meaſure taken by his Majeſty, for the ſecutity of his perſon and family, in conſequence of thoſe evil counſels, which have from time to time adviſed him to diſarm, and filled his head with jealouſies of the loyalty of his Britiſh ſubjects: who would attempt to maintain the expediency, and neceſſity of a meaſure ſo hateful to the ſubject; ſo expenſive to the nation, ſo ineffectual for our defence, and ſo dangerous to our liberties?

WHAT can be more diſagreeable to a warlike nation than to be denied the liberty to arm in their own defence and to fight *pro aris & fotis?* what ſo grievous to a people, who by their lives and fortunes have placed upon the throne and maintained their choice of the Houſe of Hanover againſt all oppoſition, to be deprived of all future means of ſignalizing themſelves in the cauſe of their king and country, by the artifices of a m——y; though his Majeſty is pleaſed to declare, that under GOD he does truſt in their good affections, zeal, and fidelity?

TO pretend that the nation can hire thoſe foreigners at an eaſier rate; and that an army of German troops can be employed with leſs charge to Britain, is a mere fallacy. The moment they land on the Britiſh ſhore they are to be paid and otherwiſe treated as our own troops. Add to this, the previous ſubſidies paid on the ratification of their treaties; and the vaſt extraordinary expence of commiſſaries, tranſports, *&c.* which would be all ſaved by his Majeſty's *exerting* only

that

that force (of his Britiſh ſubjects) *which God has put into his hands.*

BUT what is more to be regarded; foreign troops can never be relied upon in the time of an invaſion. The *Dutch*, who are by treaty engaged to furniſh ſix thouſand ſoldiers whenever this nation is threatened with an invaſion, on the moſt advantageous condition of not being ſearched in their carriage of the property of a nation in war with Great Britain, have more than once evaded their contract: they once took our money, and put us to great expence to bring them over, and to maintain them, and refuſed to fight when called into action; and have lately with more honour, found means to excuſe their obligation. The *Heſſians*, if they embark not when required, forfeit their intereſt, which centers in their pay. They are ſoldiers of fortune; and fight for thoſe who pay them beſt. But is it ſafe to truſt to the affections, zeal, and fidelity of an army, which has not the property of a ſingle ſhilling, nor a ſingle relation, nor is bound by any ties of allegiance, in that country it is hired to defend? and it is to be feared, that as neither their religious nor political principles are favourable to our eſtabliſhment in church and ſtate; there can be as little hopes of their ſincerity in fighting our cauſe againſt Popery and arbitrary power, as we have ſeen in their heir apparent, who lately apoſtatized to the church of Rome. Could not the Landgrave of *Heſſe* recal theſe troops, or forbid them to proceed to action

action when he pleaſes; though they take an oath to the prince whoſe pay they receive, that oath is only in ſubordination to their natural allegiance. And if his Popiſh heir ſhould aſcend the throne of Heſſe at this critical juncture, a Popiſh heart and a French education might turn thoſe very arms into our bowels, which were ſo ill-adviſedly called in to our aſſiſtance. Better pay and more affection for our enemy are very powerful incentives in a bigotted convert to favour, if not to join with, the enemies of a Proteſtant nation. As to his Majeſty's native ſubjects, the *Hanoverians*, it is probable they are ready to die in the defence of our ſovereign. But is that the only conſideration of weight in a Britiſh council? Is not that very diſpoſition to ſacrifice every thing to the will of their elector, a caution againſt their admiſſion into Britain? is it not ſtraining our conſtitution, and giving too great a power to one part thereof? Is not the wiſdom of the nation as diſcernible in the preſerving an equal balance of power in the legiſlature, as in providing means of defence againſt an enemy? Would not our loſs be as great to be reduced under a military power of Hanoverians, as of any other nation? and yet theſe are cautions not unworthy the attention of a Britiſh parliament; beſides the extraordinary expence, and other contingencies, which muſt always be added to the importation of a foreign army; without entering into a compariſon, either of the intereſt

intereſt or courage of our own forces with the Hanoverians.

THESE are the motives, Mr. Freeholder, which induced us to diſcredit theſe pretended friends of the government, and to ſuſpect their intelligence or their ſincerity. For we are ſatisfied, that his Majeſty has great reaſon, from frequent examples, to truſt entirely to the affections, zeal, fidelity, and courage of his Britiſh ſubjects, whenever and by whomſoever his perſon, family, or dominions are threatened with an hoſtile invaſion. And I am, Q.

Your humble Servant,

RUSTICUS.

No. 37. SATURDAY, *April* 17, 1756.

Tros, Rutuluſve fuat, nullo diſcrimine habebo.
Virg. Æn. X.

To the FREEHOLDER.

SIR,

THE underwritten diſſertation on *Whig* and *Tory* is a tranſcript from an old book, which I found in the ſtudy of my grandfather, the famous Sir Roger de Coverley, ſo much celebrated by the Spectator: it appears to be printed in the year 1699, towards the latter end of King William III. The contents appear to me of great

great conſequence, and are delivered with ſo much ſimplicity and regard to truth, that they muſt be always ſeaſonable and inſtructive, ſo long as parties ſubſiſt, either to correct the evils, or to make an advantage of the weakneſs of government.

You may perhaps diſlike their antiquity; but I am of my grandfather's opinion, That nothing can be antiquated that is capable of doing ſervice. He was wont to ſay, that old writings had this peculiar excellency in them; that let them be ever ſo pointing or applicable to individuals, no one is willing to appear diſguſted with the rebuke. He was of opinion, that a fine ſuit of cloaths is not to be lock'd up after once appearing in public. And you know his humour in this way led him ſo far as to oblige his chaplain, though a man of letters, to preach the printed ſermons of the moſt celebrated orthodox divines. Becauſe thereby he guarded againſt all innovations in doctrine; and ſilenced all cavilling and miſrepreſentations, which often are the effects, where conviction follows from the force of new matter.

My chaplain, who is in all reſpects as good a man as my grandfather's, often tells me, that he no more makes a ſermon, than buys a coat, to be worn only once; on my deſire he very readily tranſcribed the following piece; a republication whereof we think may, at leaſt, have this good effect, to ſhew who ought to be accounted the true friends of the *Britiſh Conſtitu-*

tion, and to lay a proper foundation for an enquiry, whether the *nominal whigs* in theſe days act upon the principles of *thoſe*, who brought about the REVOLUTION.

'TIS indeed below the gravity of a ſober writer to uſe the common cant words of the town; but 'tis ſometimes unavoidable, eſpecially when that, which was only mirth and cant at firſt, became at laſt a ſerious matter.

'THE accidental words of *Guelf* and *Ghibelin*, in proceſs of time grew to be the names of powerful parties, into which ſeveral countries were divided, and in which emperors, kings, popes and princes engaged; and theſe names of diſtinction continued for ſome ages, producing wars and actions of great importance.

'IN the ſame manner the words of *Whig* and *Tory*, intended at firſt as reciprocal reproaches, in a ſhort time grew to be the names, by which two great parties were contented to be called; and into which in a manner the whole nation was divided.

'THEY were termed *Whigs*, and indeed they called themſelves ſo; who under another name, had heretofore oppoſed the corrupt and illegal proceedings of the court; who foreſaw the dangers that would ariſe from the Catholic King; who were for correcting the exorbitances of *Weſtminſter Hall*, and for putting a ſtop to extravagant fines, and who made a reſolute ſtand, and would give no more money, 'till the *Habeas Corpus* act was paſſed, and 'till the new

raiſed

'raiſed army was diſbanded; and who did their 'utmoſt againſt the ſurrender and regulating of 'charters.

'In the next reign the ſame men, or men 'acting upon the ſame principle, declared them-'ſelves againſt taking off the teſt and penal laws. 'They ſhewed an open diſlike, in parliament, 'of Catholicks being put into offices of truſt. 'They abhorred the cruel executions in the 'Weſt. They oppoſed the violent proſecution 'of the ſeven biſhops: and laſtly, They were 'ready and active with their councils and aſſiſt-'ance to bring over the Redeemer of England.

'A man is but young at nineteen, but a 'party may be thought old that is of ſo long a 'ſtanding. The perſons juſt now deſcribed 'were the *old Whigs*, whoſe principles will be 'reverenced in future ages by all ſuch as love 'their country. 'Tis true, ſome perſons did 'join with theſe, and call themſelves *Whigs*, 'who had all along other views than the nation's 'ſervice; whom diſappointments had ſoured; 'who oppoſed, to be taken off; and who did 'not like a court, becauſe a court did not like 'them. But they, who ſwim againſt the tide, 'muſt make uſe of all helps, and in corrupt 'times, even the beſt patriots have refuſed no 'ſort of men that could any ways aſſiſt the pub-'lic: the good and bad of theſe altogether were 'called the *Whig Party*.

'To what had been formerly ſtiled, the *Court* '*Side*, the people afterwards gave the name of '*Tories*.

'*Tories.* And we ſhall give an account of what
'ſort of perſons this party was compoſed. The
'bulk of them conſiſted of ſuch as were de-
'ſcended from the Cavaliers, whoſe families
'had ſuffered very much by the civil war, and
'who by education were ſeaſoned with an ear-
'ly love to kingly government. They were
'jealous that all motions tending to preſerve li-
'berty, favoured of the commonwealth, with
'whoſe weight their fathers had been ſo lately
'cruſhed. A moſt unwiſe generation of men,
'to have any fears that a commonwealth could
'be reſtored in a country ſo corrupted! many
'of them were debauched by pomp and ſplen-
'dour, and in the heat of their youth, they
'liked the pleaſures of a court; but the riots of
'it compelled many of them, at laſt, to depend
'upon its favours. Others embraced the regal
'power more warmly, becauſe they ſaw many
'of the oppoſite ſide bitter againſt the church,
'not ſo deſirous to correct any of its errors, as
'willing to lay the axe to its very root. Others
'linked themſelves with this band out of a cau-
'tious temper, and through a fear that contend-
'ing with the court might produce another war.
'Some gave into this ſide out of gratitude to
'King Charles, and many others through mere
'affection to his perſon; for without doubt he
'was a moſt engaging prince. Others went into
'it from a real conviction of their minds, that
'the king was not ſafe without more power: to
'which opinion they were chiefly led, by ob-
'ſerving

'ſerving the raſh councils, unquiet ſpirits, and 'inſolent behaviour of ſome of their opponents. 'But with thoſe who might act of this ſide upon 'a principle, there joined a great many, who 'had no good intentions to the public; who 'were for enlarging the prince's power, in order 'to augment their own; who were for robbing 'the people, that they might ſhare in the plun-'der; who would have ſet the king above all the 'laws, that they might be never accountable to 'a parliament for their proceedings; and who 'pretending a great zeal for the church, were 'all the while making way for Popery: thus 'upon different motives, conſiderable numbers 'were liſted of this ſide, and the good and the 'bad mingled together, compoſed what was cal-'led the *Tory Party*.

'BUT human affairs are ſubject to ſuch odd 'turns, that in the next reign many of *both* 'theſe parties traverſed their ground, and mutu-'ally paſſed into that camp, which ſome of their 'enemies had deſerted. Not a few of the *Whigs* 'entered into the worſt of King James's meaſures 'and councils; and the eyes of thoſe, who had 'been reckoned *Tories*, were in a manner uni-'verſally opened, and they began to ſee the er-'rors they had been committing ſo many years; 'inſomuch, that they were as eager as any o-'thers to promote the *revolution*: ſo that the 'ſoundeſt part of theſe claſhing factions ſhook 'hands together, and joined in that reſcue of 'our liberties, which could never have been

'brought

' brought about, but by the concurrent endea-
' vours of *both parties.*

' BOTH ſides had their faults, and of both
' ſides bad men were liſted; and of each ſide there
' were many, who all along acted upon the
' principles of honeſty and virtue, and who aim-
' ed at the common good; though as to the way
' to it, in their turns, each ſide might be now
' and then miſtaken: it muſt indeed be granted,
' that the *Whigs* ſaw the diſeaſes that were grow-
' ing upon the body politic, before the *Tories*;
' but when the diſtemper began to rage, the
' *Tories* were not behind hand in ſeeking out
' the proper remedy.

' BUT though ſuch as the common people
' then called *Tories*, joined in the revolution,
' and had without doubt the greateſt hand in
' it, having on their ſide men of fortunes, power,
' and figure, and the main body of the church;
' which will always be found the ſtrongeſt inte-
' reſt in *England*: yet it muſt be confeſſed that
' the change was made upon the OLD *Whig*
' PRINCIPLES, of making parliaments awful to
' the miniſters, and of keeping the regal autho-
' rity within the limits of the law: for what
' this nation then did, was directly oppoſite to
' the church or Tory maxims; but when prin-
' ces quit the old rules of right government,
' their ſubjects will be apt to forget the old rules
' preſcribed for their obedience.

' TIS hoped theſe names of diſtinction are
' now quite aboliſhed and forgotten; but the

'faction of *Guelfs* and *Ghibelins*, after having 'ſlept for ſome time, revived again, and conti-'nued upwards of two hundred years, even 'when the derivation of the words was no more 'remembered; and the parties laſted ſo long, 'becauſe the ſame principles, upon which they 'had firſt differed, remained ſtill deeply im-'printed in their minds, and afforded continual 'matter for new diſſention.

'IN the ſame manner, perhaps, ſome time 'hence the names of *Whig* and *Tory* may be a-'gain renewed here, to diſturb this nation's 'peace; and if this ſhould happen, we muſt 'implore the *Whigs* not to forget their OLD '*principles* and ANCIENT *maxims*.

'THE *Tories*, by taking arms to defend their 'civil rights, and by joining to depoſe that 'prince, by whom thoſe rights were violated, 'have in the moſt public manner in the world 'renounced their doctrine of *jus divinum*, *paſ-'ſive obedience and non reſiſtance*.

'BUT if the *Whigs* ſhould hereafter take 'their ſtations; if they ſhould go upon that 'ground which the *Tories* have quitted; if they 'ſhould enter upon juſt ſuch meaſures; if they 'ſhould purſue the ſame councils; if they ſhould 'ſuffer themſelves to be imbib'd with *Tory* no-'tions, *our conſtitution* muſt be entirely *loſt*.

'FOR they may undermine it without ſuſpi-'cion: who will be jealous of thoſe, who have 'been preaching up liberty, and accuſing arbi-'trary miniſters for thirty years? who will ſuſ-

'pect

'pect ſuch patriots? They may change the 'form of our government, and have the people 'of their ſide, who can have no jealouſy of 'them; for the *Whigs* are the favourites of the 'people, as having ſo often preſerved England. 'No perſon could be popular enough in Rome 'to think of ſubverting its conſtitution, in the 'purity of the commonwealth, but *Manlius*, 'who had ſaved the capitol.

'IT will hardly be ſurmiſed, that they can 'mean to enſlave us, who (by their ſpeeches, 'actions and writings) for many years ſeemed 'rather inclined to a republic, than to deſpotic 'government. But if they ſhould come to '*change* their minds; if they ſhould throw off their '*former* principles, we ſhall be *undone by the very* '*men*, whom we thought our ſureſt friends.

'IF *old Whigs* ſhould hunt after places, as 'much as ever the *Tories* did; and if, like them, 'upon preferment, they ſhould become quite 'NEW *men*, in voting, thinking, and ſpeaking; 'in a moment making a ſudden turn from the 'whole courſe of their former lives; if OLD '*Whigs*, as the *Tories* did, ſhould ever take 'bribes and penſions to betray their truſt; if they 'ſhould do any thing to break into the *Habeas* '*Corpus* act, which is the chief guardian of our 'liberties; if they ſhould oppoſe any good act for 'the frequent ſitting of parliament, which want 'in the conſtitution produced all our former 'miſeries; if they ſhould openly oppoſe any 'reaſonable proviſion for trials in treaſon, the 'want of which has loſt many a noble life, and

'for which heretofore they had ſo loudly call-
'ed; if, as the *Tories* did, they ſhould ſend
'their emiſſaries about to influence or corrupt
'elections; if OLD *Whigs*, to whom *meum* and *tuum*
'was once ſo ſacred, ſhould come to ruin a ſoci-
'ety of trading men, and at one blow deſtroy
'many hundred families, (but God forbid *Engliſh-*
'*men* ſhould ever have ſuch a thought;) if OLD
'*Whigs* ſhall perſuade any future Prince to clo-
'ſet members, as was done in the preceeding
'reigns; if by their power they ſhould get
'men turned out of employment, for purſuing
'the dictates of their conſcience and under-
'ſtanding; if, like the miniſters heretofore
'complained of, they ſhould have a band of
'penſioners ready to give up any right, to grant
'any ſum, and to excuſe, nay, even to vote
'their pay-maſter thanks for any mal-admini-
'ſtration:

'If the OLD *Whigs* ſhould reſtore to men the
'ſame diſhoneſt intereſt they had heretofore;
'if they ſhould conſume us in their miniſterial,
'and ſell us in their legiſlative capacity, if they
'ſhould deſire to have things governed, rather
'by tricks and little arts, than according to the
'direction of the laws, or the bent of the peo-
'ple: if they, who upon the virtuous principles
'of keeping *England* a free country, in former
'times, oppoſed all EXCISES, ſhould be brought
'to create ſo many new offices and officers, as may
'influence elections round the kingdom: if they,
'who heretofore thought the beſt way to pre-
'ſerve

'ſerve their civil rights, was to keep the purſe, 'and to have always ſomething to give, ſhould 'be for ſettling ſuch an immenſe revenue on 'the crown, as may make parliaments unne-'ceſſary, if they who were ſo careful in King 'Charles's reign, not to burthen the nation with 'taxes, ſhould give away the people's wealth, 'as if *England* were a mine of treaſure never to 'be exhauſted; if they who have ever aſſerted, 'that all rents and payments to the crown were 'the kingdom's revenues, and not alienable, 'but by authority of parliament, ſhould in a 'ſhort ſpace of time come to alienate all the 'crown land, and to leave the king hardly a 'turf of ground either in England or Ireland; if 'they, who formerly thought it ſufficient mat-'ter of impeachment for a lord-treaſurer, or 'any other entruſted by the king, to paſs large 'grants from the crown to themſelves, ſhould 'give to their creatures, and ſhare among one 'another, in a few years, of crown lands, near 'to the value of two millions:

'IF the very men, who have *aſſerted and 'claimed it to be their true, ancient, and indubi-'table right, and that it ought to be eſteemed, al-'lowed, adjudged, and deemed, that the raiſing 'or keeping a ſtanding army within the kingdom 'in time of peace, unleſs it be with the conſent of 'parliament, is againſt law*: if they who once 'believed this eagle in the air frighted all mo-'tions towards liberty, if they who heretofore 'thought armies in time of peace, and our

'freedoms inconſiſtent, if the ſame men ſhould 'throw off a *Whig principle*, ſo fundamental, if 'they ſhould become the open advocates for '*ſtanding forces*, and even ſubmit to troops 'compoſed of FOREIGNERS.

'IF in this manner the OLD *Whigs*, whoſe 'foreſight and courage has hitherto preſerved '*England*, ſhould quite change their minds, 'and go thus retrograde from all their former 'ſpeeches, actions, and councils, if they ſhould 'thus come to cloath themſelves with the foul, 'ridiculous, and deteſted garments of the *To-'ries*, and give into the worſt of their mea-'ſures; and if all that has been here diſcourſed 'ſhould happen, then would the *conſtitution* of 'this country be utterly *ſubverted*.

'FOR men finding themſelves thus forſaken 'by the ancient friends to LIBERTY, would be-'lieve they were bought and ſold; they would 'imagine that there was no ſuch thing as virtue 'and honeſty remaining in the kingdom; they 'would think all pretenſions to the public good, 'to be nothing but deſigns of ambitious per-'ſons, to lift themſelves up to high honours, 'upon the ſhoulders of the people; and when 'nations have before their eyes an armed power 'to fear, and none in whom they can put any 'truſt, they ſeldom fail of ſubmitting to the 'yoke.

'FREE ſtates yield to ſlavery, when the men 'beſt eſteemed, and moſt in vogue, are gene-'rally thought to be corrupted. This was the

'condition

'condition of Rome under *Auguſtus*, when the 'beſt and nobleſt ſpirits were all extinct, and 'when it was ſeen that the remainder were con-'tented with wealth, titles, and preferments, the 'price of their ſubmiſſion, the Romans thought 'it their ſafeſt courſe to commit all to the care 'and wiſdom of a *ſingle* perſon.

'In the ſame manner, if in times to come 'it ſhould happen that our nobility and gentry 'ſhould be more ſolicitous to get a ſmall em-'ployment, than to keep a great eſtate; if the 'perſons of note and figure ſhould be ſwayed 'by their private intereſt, without any regard 'to the public good; if it ſhould be viſible to 'the counties and boroughs, that men covet to 'be choſen, not for their country's ſervice, but 'in order to ſerve themſelves: if it ſhould grow 'apparent, that neither ſide is at bottom better 'principled than the other; that court and 'country party, *Whigs* and *Churchmen*, are no-'thing but the factions of thoſe, who have, and 'thoſe who deſire preferment; if in this man-'ner the whole maſs of blood in the body poli-'tic ſhould be corrupted, the nation will throw 'off that reverence to parliaments, which has 'hitherto preſerved our liberties, and like the 'neighbouring countries, either terrified or al-'lured, they will by degrees ſubmit to unlimit-'ed monarchy, and ſo we ſhall loſe one of the 'beſt conſtitutions that was ever ſet a foot for 'the well-governing a people.'

Mr. FREEHOLDER! if you think proper to give this a place in your paper, my chaplain will be ready to tranſcribe again, and perhaps he may give you a compoſition or two of his own. I am,

SIR, *your humble Servant*,

ROGER de COVERLEY.

No. 38. SATURDAY, *April* 24, 1756.

Admonere volumus, non mordere; prodeſſe non lædere. ERASMUS.

Mr. FREEHOLDER.

SIR,

THE voice of the people, in a nation eſtabliſhed upon principles of liberty, will be always allowed of ſome weight, and has ſeldom failed of its due effect upon the councils of ſtate, unleſs enervated by taxes, or over-awed by power. The one conſumes the vital ſpirits of liberty; the other knocks it on the head. But it is the happineſs of Britain, that we are not liable to either of theſe misfortunes, except the people could be ſuppoſed ſo abandoned to their own intereſt, as to make merchandize of their voices, and to chuſe repreſentatives for a bribe;

bribe; who muſt reimburſe themſelves, and make their advantage by concurring with every meaſure that may exhauſt our riches, reduce us to a helpleſs ſtate, and to the obedience of a military power.

THOSE nations, which have felt the fatal effects of ſuch meaſures, were gradually corrupted in their morals; perſuaded to indulge their vices for ſome preſent advantage, by promoting or conniving at an invaſion of the public rights, and at laſt enſlaved by reſigning that power, to which they were entitled by nature and the laws of their country.

THIS is not the caſe of Britain. Many have been the attempts of the crown, and ſometimes of a faction, to deſtroy our liberties. And perhaps immorality and corruption never ſpread more than among ſome of the preſent Freeholders and other natives of this land. How common, how public, how ſhameleſs has been the traffic of elections under the influence of corrupt miniſters? how often has it been neceſſary for parliament to enact laws to curb the growth of a merchandize, that conveyed away the liberty of the ſubject, and to guard their auguſt aſſembly from the dangerous influence of placemen and penſioners?

BUT who can read the practices of thoſe kings, that diſarmed the Engliſh and forced them to pay, and to ſubmit to, an army of foreigners? or of the factious uſurpers of the adminiſtration that ruled by military laws? who can recollect the artifices of a court in the choice

of

of a parliament? or the perfidy and treachery of the members? and forget the ſtruggles and effects of the voice of the people on all thoſe occaſions? for though their liberty ſeemed for a time utterly conſumed, our preſent vigorous conſtitution ſhews that it always roſe out of its aſhes more perfect and able to contend with arbitrary meaſures. Britons may be leaſed out for a term, and may be bubbled into a renewal, but as often as they find they have been a property, or feel that they have no property, deſpair, that makes other nations humble, makes them mad; becauſe they who have nothing to hope, have nothing to fear. Had the Normans been content to govern according to ancient cuſtom, we had never heard of *magna charta:* had the eccleſiaſtics not endeavoured to ſeize the whole treaſure of the nation, King Harry would have found a more difficult taſk to engage the people in the glorious work of the reformation; had not the uſurpers, with their military power, threatened to entail greater oppreſſions and ſlavery upon the people than had been laid to the charge of King Charles, they would ſcarce have thought of a reſtoration; and it is recent in all our memories, that the revolution and Proteſtant ſucceſſion; the bill of rights and act of ſettlement, to curb the encroachments of the crown, to ſettle the limitations of power in each part of the conſtitution, to exclude a Popiſh prince from the throne, and to prevent our connections with the continent, either by taking an unne-

unneceſſary part in the quarrels, or by employing the arms of foreign princes or ſtates, might never have exiſted, had King James II. not diſcovered a partiality for the Papiſts; invaded the rights of the people by attempting to influence elections; leaned too much to French and Italian councils, and betrayed a jealouſy of his Britiſh Proteſtant ſubjects, by filling his army, as well as his council, with Papiſts, and augmenting it with Iriſh deſperadoes.

THEREFORE, impoveriſhed, betrayed, and abandoned as they were, they were ſtill Engliſhmen, capable of great things in their degeneracy, and formidable in their ruin: though liberty has been ſometimes betrayed by artifices, or oppreſſed by power, though it may have been ſometimes ſmothered under the rubbiſh of a vicious people and corrupt repreſentatives, we find it is compoſed of ſuch celeſtial fire, as never to be extinguiſhed, and has been eaſily blown up again out of the embers of the true Britiſh conſtitution. And if we may be permitted to advance nearer to our own times, without danger of treading upon holy ground, ſome of his Majeſty's moſt faithful ſubjects are of opinion, that *the voice of the people* prevented the ruinous ſcheme for a general exciſe; obtained a repeal of the Antichriſtian naturalization of the Jews; and after forty years ſtruggle with the miniſtry for arms, and to convince his Majeſty of their courage and readineſs to ſerve him, and to defend their country againſt all hoſtile attempts,

tempts, is ready to exert itſelf, and to plead its cauſe, in the royal preſence, by that bill, which is now under the conſideration of the legiſlature, and is intitled *a bill for the better ordering of the* MILITIA *and* forces *in the ſeveral counties of* ENGLAND.

IN this bill is Majeſty is informed, by the *voice of his people*, 'That it is abſolutely neceſſary that *England* be conſtantly furniſhed and 'ſupplied with an uſeful militia, for the ſafety 'and ſupport thereof; and for repelling and ſuppreſſing invaſions, inſurrections and rebellions; 'and that theſe ſervices cannot be *effectually* 'performed, but by the NATIVES of *this kingdom*, regularly formed into corps, and well 'diſciplined; to whom ALONE, under the direction of his Majeſty, his heirs and ſucceſſors, the defence of this realm can be *legally* 'intruſted.'

Do not the people in this preamble, which contains the reaſons of the bill, tacitly complain of thoſe, who have been the cauſe of their weakneſs, who deprived them of their arms of defence, who have diſcouraged the muſters of the militia, and thereby encouraged our enemies to inſult us with threats of an invaſion, and furniſhed the miniſtry with a plauſible argument for keeping up a ſtanding army of mercenary ſoldiers, raiſed out of the dregs of the nation, and alſo for calling in an army of foreigners to repel and ſuppreſs invaſions, inſurrections, and rebellions? do they not implicitly condemn all

thoſe

thoſe meaſures, which have loaded them with taxes to pay foreign troops, and to maintain mercenary forces in time of peace, and expoſed them to the reproach and contempt of our enemies? do they not inſiſt upon the SOLE right of being employed under a regular form and good diſcipline, and truſted with the defence of this realm, under the direction of his Majeſty, excluſive of all other aid, whether foreign or domeſtic mercenaries? and ſhall the *voice of the people* not be heard in a requeſt that is *abſolutely neceſſary*, that is *the only effectual* means of ſafety, and the *only legal* defence of their king and country?

THEIR argument is founded upon the neceſſity of an uſeful militia; upon its ſuperior power to any other force within this nation; and upon the nature of that defence, which is neceſſary for the ſupport of a free people.

THEY maintain their argument, drawn from the neceſſity of an uſeful militia, by ſhewing, that the preſent method of keeping up a ſtanding army is too great a burden to the ſubject, and dangerous to their liberties; and that the importation of foreigners is ſtill more hateful and ruinous: for thereby the treaſure of the nation might be ſquandered upon uſeleſs commiſſions, and the calamities of war might be increaſed by unneceſſary burdens. For, as we find by experience, that the mighty army, now in pay, is, by the miniſtry, judged inſufficient to defend the realm againſt an invaſion, and its expence is increaſing beyond our abilities, it is moſt ra-

tional to infer the abſolute neceſſity of a well-diſciplined militia, ready and truſty to march againſt all invaders, rioters, and rebels; notwithſtanding thoſe generous aſſertions of the frugality of the miniſtry, the opulence of the nation, the extent of our commerce, and the happineſs of our condition under this mild adminiſtration, made uſe of by the hireling ſcribblers of the c—t; who, becauſe they feel none of the public calamities, repreſent all complaints as criminal murmurs, and charge thoſe with ſedition, who petition only for relief. This indeed is the artful colouring of thoſe, who find it their intereſt to conceal from the people their own weakneſs; but, that weakneſs, which is well known abroad, ſpirits up every nation to inſult us, and to contrive means to make a property of our irreſolute councils and conduct.

THEY prove a uſeful militia, formed of the natives of this kingdom, to be *the only* means of defence, by preferring their integrity and ability to mercenaries and foreigners, by repreſenting the hazard of truſting their ALL to ſoldiers of fortune, who fight for bread, and who frequently by deſertion, make terms with the invader more to their own advantage, and by ſhewing the impracticability of having ſuch a force always in the ſame readineſs to face the enemy.

As for the integrity of a militia, certainly nobody will ſcruple to give them the preference to that vagabond crew, out of which the mercenaries are commonly raiſed. What can equal the vices and inhumanity of common ſoldiers?

where indeed ſhall we find more accompliſhed gentlemen than among their officers? but, as it is the mode of the gentry in Romiſh countries to provide for the vicious excreſcences of their families in the church; it is in this nation, ſince the ſuppreſſion of the monaſteries, become a faſhion to provide for them in the army, when their endeavours to reform them have failed in every other ſtation. An army of ſuch perſons, as are reſpected in their neighbourhood, and commanded by gentlemen of property and acquaintance; and who, by deſertion or flight muſt neceſſarily involve themſelves and families in the common calamities and ruin of their country, in caſe of a defeat, can never be ſuſpected of betraying their truſt. Where loyalty is backed with ſelf-preſervation, the hands of government are always the moſt ſtrengthened. But few nations have eſcaped the uſurpations of a mercenary army, when they have had it in their power to ſell it to the beſt bidder.

Nor can any one diſpute its ability; if the ability of an army conſiſts in its being well-diſciplined, trained, armed, and arrayed, this militia will excel; except it be pretended, that a raw, unexperienced recruit ſhall, by the beat of the drum, be inſpired with a perfect military exerciſe. Shall a man preſſed from the plough-tail, and hurried into the field of battle, be more able to defend his country, than one, who is trained and diſciplined according to the rules, orders, and directions of the militia bill?

The impracticability of our maintaining a ſtanding

ſtanding army, capable of defending this realm in time of danger is confeſſed, by calling in the Heſſians and Hanoverians, though our ſtanding army is ſix times more numerous than that, which in 1708 was found ſufficient with the militia to defeat the well-concerted ſcheme of a French invaſion.

ARE we ſure that this addition of foreign troops will add to our ſtrength and ſafety? are they as eaſy to be ſtationed on our ſhores as the local militia? muſt not all Europe be alarmed before they can arrive at their place of embarkation? may not they be intercepted or ſtopped in their march by ſtates in a different intereſt? are they engaged to cut their way through all oppoſition? are not they as truly in Britiſh pay, and have a right to the utmoſt of their contract, when they are ſtopped by our enemies, or interrupted by impaſſable roads, or other political excuſes, as if they paſſed through the fiery trial of a battle? what reaſon then have we to expect that theſe *journeymen of Mars* would not rather conſume their time in marching and countermarching on the borders of their own territories, than to be forced into a field of blood? and ſhould they at laſt reach the Britiſh Iſle, if it be allowed to judge from example; their greateſt feat will be to ſtrike terror into the diſarmed natives; to create murmurs amongſt a brave and well-affected, but jealous people, and to find ſome excuſe to decline the real ſervice, for which they are paid; or, perhaps, to correſpond with the enemy. And if we read

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the hiſtory of ſome of theſe auxiliaries, it would not be the firſt time that an Engliſh commander has been obliged to fire upon them as they *ran away*. How then can it be imagined, that any of theſe foreigners can ſo *effectually* repel our enemies, and ſuppreſs inſurrections and rebellions, as thoſe brave natives, who have been always numbered among the braveſt of mankind, whoſe name in arms has carried terror abroad, and brought conqueſt home, and whoſe valour was never found occaſional, but the equal, ſteady reſult of their own national magnanimity. And which of thoſe natives can be ſo well entitled to the palm of courage as a regular well-diſciplined militia, which enters the field invited and ſupported, not only by the reputation of their country, but by the intereſt they have in its preſervation?

WHY then is the nation obliged at once to pay an army at home, which can be of no uſe, and to hire auxiliaries, which perhaps are not more active? Is not this to make war, if any war be intended, at an unneceſſary expence? and to pay at once, an army, which only awes the villages, and terrifies the quarters where they are ſupported, and a body of German mercenaries, which it is hard to conjecture with what deſign they are to be brought into a kingdom, that is in profound peace, and that in caſe of any hoſtile attempt, can be only *effectually* and *legally* defended by a well-diſciplined militia?

THIS, Mr. Freeholder, is *the voice of the people*, of the good people of England, who,

from every quarter, by their loyal addreſs to the throne, in anſwer to his Majeſty's apprehenſions of an invaſion, tender, with the warmeſt zeal and ſincereſt affection, their lives and fortunes, and in the moſt preſſing and dutiful terms beſeech him to put arms into their hands; but tacitly expreſs their diſlike of foreign auxiliaries, for the defence of this realm. And as under all wiſe adminiſtrations hitherto, the good opinion and good-will of the people have been held of great importance; and, as it would be out of the power even of a bad miniſtry to gild over the doſe ſo as to render an oppoſition palatable, it is not doubted, but that the bill for a well-diſciplined militia will paſs into a law, and for ever render abortive all pretences, not only to call in a foreign army, but relieve the nation from the charge and diſtreſſes, which neceſſarily follow the keeping up a numerous body of mercenary troops; an evil which by the increaſing corruption of miniſters would be extended ſo far, as either to throw this nation into the greateſt diſorder, or reduce it to a ſtate of the meaneſt and moſt ſlaviſh dependency; and therefore might be attended with more alienation of the hearts of the people from his Majeſty's perſon and family, than almoſt any other miſmanagement could ever produce.

BRITONS will never be ſlaves. They are patient and generous, but not daſtardly and prodigal. And they face the iniquities of the times with leſs emotion, becauſe they have the remedy

remedy always in their own hands. When a general ſhew of diſlike: when inſtructions to their members: when petitions to parliament: when addreſſes to their ſovereign meet with no redreſs, and are thrown aſide as impertinent, diſobedient, or factious, they have always reſumed their authority. Let the people be ever ſo deſpiſed by thoſe in power, they muſt be ſtill allowed to be the ſource of that power, which is eſtabliſhed by our conſtitution, as the ſuperintendant of our government, and the guardian of our rights. This may be laid aſleep, or craftily drawn off its guard; but can never be ſo diſabled as not to awake to vigilance and activity, to place their rights and privileges beyond the danger of future attacks. Z.

No. 39. SATURDAY, *May* 1, 1756.

——— *Servetur ad imum*
Qualis ab incœpto proceſſerit, & ſibi conſtet.
HOR. Art. Poet.

The Second Part of the new Hiſtory of Mr. JOHN BULL.

NOtwithſtanding Dr. Galen's prognoſtication concerning *John Bull*'s approaching end, yet doctors, in this point, as well as in many others, are often fallible, and his diſtem-

per took a ſurprizing turn, contrary to all appearance, and the common apprehenſion of his neighbours and friends. Phyſic he took none, from the time the doctor paid him the laſt viſit, and reſolved indeed not to take any, be the event as it would. But his ſtamina being ſtrong, his vital parts ſound, and keeping ſtrictly to kitchen diſcipline, the ſymptoms began gradually to abate; the ſpring advancing brought with it warm weather, which tempted *him* abroad; and the meliorated air attenuating his blood, and giving it a new ſpring, the circulation was carried on in a briſker manner, and as the faculties of his mind, upon this change in the habit of his body, gathered ſtrength, he began to apply himſelf to his perplexed affairs, and thought there was a chance poſſible, in ſome tolerable degree at leaſt, to retrieve his broken fortune. There was an incident withal, that did not a little contribute to brighten the proſpect; and that was, Mrs. *Bull*'s illneſs: ſhe was a pretty corpulent high-fed woman, and ſeemed in a fair way to do penance for all her ſins of luxury, being ſtruck on a ſudden with an apoplectic fit; and although by bleeding, bliſtering, and ſmart purgations death was prevented; yet a ſtupor and paralytic numbneſſes ſtill remained, and there was no probability of her perfect recovery; or living long; and when a man has a very bad wife, no one medicine in the world is ſo efficacious towards reſtoring his own health, as the hope, that he ſhall not be

much longer plagued with her. Beſides, *Bull* not being a man of a liberal education, had a ſpice of ſuperſtition in him; and he privately employed a confidant to conſult a cunning man who lived in that country, ſon of the famous *Duncan Cambel*, whoſe account came out pretty favourably; for, having examined his books of aſtrology, and rummaged the houſes of the planets; they told him, that Mrs. *Bull*'s conſtitution was built but for five years longer at moſt, and that then ſhe muſt infallibly die. This anſwer did not diſpleaſe; but it did not quite come up to *Bull*'s hopes. He humm'd and haw'd; five years! quoth he, a conſiderable hole in the reſidue of my life, and before that period I may perchance be dead and buried. But hang it, who knows? *Par* lived to one hundred fifty-two years; *Jenkins* to one hundred ſixty-nine; and to be ſure I am made of good ſtuff, otherwiſe my malady muſt e'er now have quite demoliſhed me. Moreover, I have heard phyſicians ſay, that nervous diſorders, though terrible beyond expreſſion, ſeldom kill folks; poſſibly the *viridis ſenectus*, as our vicar calls it, may be my lot; and e'gad, I'll not throw up the cards, as long as I am able to hold one in my hand. Mrs. *Bull* continued in much the ſame way, neither better nor worſe, hanging like Mahomet's tomb, betwixt heaven and earth; but there was a circumſtance attending her illneſs, no wiſe diſpleaſing to her

huſband? which was, that the fit had benumm'd her tongue; ſo that *John* was not entertained with its muſic and impertinence, which often ſounded very diſcordant in his ears. This ſudden calm in his family added much to his quiet, and he daily gathered ground; ſo that 'bating a few *flatus's*, which upon any error in diet, in exerciſe, or the other non-naturals, he was ſubject to, he was tolerably well, began to ſet to buſineſs again, and take heart. Well, ſays he to himſelf; for he was pretty prone to ſoliloquy; — bad as my affairs are, I have ſtill a tolerable trade, and ſome handſome fragments left: above all, a large manor with a great deal of waſte land and timber upon it, which by care and cultivation, muſt in time turn up a great thing: it is true, it lies ſomewhat inconvenient, being upon a large continent, at a good diſtance from this iſland; however, it is an improveable eſtate, and will anſwer in proportion as tenants multiply upon it, which will infallibly be the caſe, if we give them proper encouragement, and protect them in their rights; beſides, the produce of the country will in the mean while furniſh me with many things I want; and it will, on the other hand, take off a good deal of my broad-cloth; ſo that, like two buckets in a well, one will be filling, while the other is emptying; and as the whole ultimately comes into the ſame tub, it muſt fill apace. There is indeed one unlucky circumſtance that will retard this; and that is, one *Lewis*, lord of the contiguous

contiguous manor, has ſeized upon part of my lands: but I am at ſuit with him; and, as I have undoubted right on my ſide, and can plead long and uninterrupted poſſeſſion, I have the beſt pretenſions, both in law and equity, that a man can poſſibly have to an eſtate; and I have no doubt of the happy iſſue of my cauſe, if my attornies and council do but do their part; they are not indeed of my retaining, but of my wife's, and old *Hubble-bubble*'s our firſt ſteward: nevertheleſs, let them blunder as they may, I have too good an opinion of my judge, to ſuſpect its miſcarriage: I grant indeed, nay I know by ſad experience, that law is an expenſive thing; it carries ſuch a train and equipage with it, that, during my ſuit, will extremely diſtreſs me; ſo that, inſtead of going forwards, I muſt expect to go backwards: and as I have no ready caſh, I can raiſe it but one of theſe ways, either by reducing the number of our ſervants, or lowering the wages of our upper ones, for the common ones cannot well bear it; or by laying new burdens upon my tenants: and if this laſt ſhould be thought the faireſt expedient, I hope, as the money is to be applied to their uſe and benefit, they will bear it as patiently as poſſible, provided it be raiſed in an impartial and equitable manner. The former expedient nevertheleſs, I moſt approve, as it will certainly be moſt reaſonable, and moſt for our credit. If my law-ſuit ends well, I expect to have coſts; which, were the litigation on the plaintiff's

part, is apparently unjuſt, and has no pretence of ground to ſupport it, is, I know by experience, the uſual method of courts.

WHILST Bull was entertaining himſelf with theſe flattering reveries; catching like a man juſt drowning, at every bulruſh; nay, at the very ſhadow of it; or, which is a ſtronger ſimile, like a man in a ſtorm at ſea, expecting his death in every wave; when all on a ſudden, the winds humble themſelves, and he ſpies land; ſuch was the alacrity in John's heart, and the mounting blood and ſpirits played in his countenance; ſo that, excepting his being ſomewhat emaciated from the nature of his diſtemper, he had nearly recovered his priſtine perſon. Dr. Galen having heard, he was grown a good deal better, and being called to a patient in the neighbourhood, took the opportunity of paying him a friendly viſit; and after uſual civilities, he addreſſed him to this effect: well, Mr. Bull! I am extremely glad to ſee you look ſo well; you are a quite different man from what I expected ever to find you, and ſeem to have taken a new leaſe of life; I rejoice, that you have given my art the lye, and hope, this happy change will turn to the benefit of your family, as well as to your own comfort. —— Thank you, Doctor, it has pleaſed GOD ſo to order it; and I begin now to think, that I have a chance for a perfect recovery, and ſhall be fit for buſineſs again. But an accident has happened ſince I ſaw you, which is, that my wife has had a fit

of

of an apoplexy, attended with paralytick affections, which has almoſt taken away her ſpeech; the few words ſhe utters are ſcarce intelligible to any body, but thoſe who are conſtantly about her, and ſhe ſtill continues very ill; and although it be no ſecret to you, Sir, that we live but indifferently together, yet my late ſufferings ſtimulate the native compaſſion of my breaſt, and I cannot help feeling for her; beſides, ſhould ſhe die, not according to the approved rules of art, my reputation may ſuffer, and I may be called a cruel ill-natured huſband. I ſhould be glad therefore, Doctor, if you would ſee her; but as ſhe has generally been in the hands of quacks, and has a great notion of noſtrums, I am not ſure, ſhe will yield to the advice of a learned and regular-bred phyſician; however, if you pleaſe, ſhe ſhall know you are here. —— As you think proper, Sir, I would not be thought to force buſineſs.

Mr. BULL touched the bell; a footman immediately came in; Will! ſays he, bid your miſtreſs's maid ſtep here: the maid appeared: Betty, go up to your miſtreſs, and tell her, Dr. Galen is below, and I ſhall be glad, if ſhe would be pleaſed to ſee him. Leave being granted, the doctor was ſhewn into her chamber; and paying his compliments of courſe, Mrs. Bull waved her hand to have him ſit down; whence he perceived, the malady had affected her tongue, as Mr. Bull told him. Madam, ſays he, I am ſorry to find you ſo much diſor-

diſordered; and Mr. Bull has related to me your caſe, and what has been done for you; there is no room therefore for further evacuations; but I could, I believe, put you into an eaſy regimen; which I flatter myſelf may be of ſervice to you, but, I will be anſwerable, ſhall do you no harm. She bowed, and by a dumb motion, which Betty underſtood, ſhe told the doctor, her miſtreſs conſented to try what he could do for her. The warm weather having called the vipers from their dark winter cells, he adviſed a courſe of viper-broth, and in a few weeks ſhe mended ſurpriſingly. The natural circulation began to return to her tongue, and it recovered its volubility ſo far, that ſhe was ſoon able to hold a converſation with her huſband tolerably well. One day, as they were ſitting together, Mr. Bull took occaſion to ſtart the ſubject of the law-ſuit; and they turned and ſifted it about, viewing and varying it in all the lights and ſhades it would poſſibly bear. Well, Mrs. Bull, ſays he, I hope it will end fortunately; for if I am caſt, I am an undone man. Why do you *if* it, my dear, ſhe replies? for her illneſs had ſo humbled her, that her accents were grown ſoft and gentle; is not your cauſe good? your council able? and your judge impartial? why *if* it then? Look you Mrs. Bull, I cannot readily ſign each of thoſe articles: concerning the juſtice of my cauſe, and the impartiality of my judge I make no demur; but for the ability of my council, I will not anſwer; they

they are not of mine, but of yours, or rather of old *Hubble-bubble*'s chooſing; but what I am afraid of, is the expence; and though I carry my cauſe, I ſhall not be the firſt man, that has been undone by a victory. You remember the ſimile of the oyſter; the lawyer eat the fiſh; the parties litigant had each of them a ſhell. But pray, my good wife! how are we to raiſe money to carry on this affair? Attornies and agents bills, counſellors fees, retaining, refreſhing, term after term, will preſs upon us, like wave upon wave; beſides a round ſum at the time of hearing; and who can tell how long ſo fat a cauſe may be ſuſpended, before it comes to a final iſſue! this money-matter ſurely deſerves our attention; for money muſt be had; and let us conſider the eaſieſt and prudenteſt methods of getting it; ſuppoſe, we lop off all unneceſſary ſervants, or lower the wages of our upper ones, eſpecially where they are known to have good vails; it would be a prodigious ſaving; ſhould this be diſapproved; ſuppoſe you oblige each to pay a year's ſalary towards the expence of the ſuit: would this be hard? when many of them are very rich; and moſt of them too, at my expence. Or, which I ſhould ſtill like better, let them ſubſcribe it, each voluntarily; ſuch an act of ſelf-denial would do them credit, and manifeſt their gratitude to our family, at a time it is pinched: if nothing of this kind be done, we ſhall be forced to rack and ſqueeze our tenants; and, if we go ſo far, that they cannot

live comfortably under us; the conſequence muſt be; they will be looking out for a new landlord: and ſhould matters come to that extremity; pray! where are we?

Mr. BULL, I will anſwer, as well as I am able, to each of your articles: as to our tenants, they are richer and abler to bear more weight than they would willingly have us believe; as to compelling our ſervants to ſubſcribe each his year's wages; it looks harſh; ſome can afford it, others are poor: however I wiſh the rich would ſet the precedent of generoſity, and the reſt might be tempted to throw in their mite: and I would have it a free oblation, which you yourſelf prefer; but our ſervants, I am afraid, have the common nature of ſervants in general; that is, are for getting as much as they can: as to reducing their number, or the wages of our upper ones at a convenient time; with all my heart: can you ſuppoſe I will act ſo unnatural a part by our family, as to oppoſe ſuch a meaſure of frugality, if our buſineſs can be well done at a leſs expence? no: Mrs. *Bull* is not ſo bad a wife, as that comes to; but I cannot think time preſent, convenient: becauſe ſuch an alteration muſt raiſe a combuſtion in the houſe; and call off our attention from our main object, the law-ſuit; when that is ended, I will concur with you in digeſting a prudent ſcheme of this kind. I am afraid (clamours are ſo many) that ſome of our ſervants have egregiouſly impoſed upon our goodnature and indulgence; hard things, for example,

ple, have been whiſpered of the firſt clerk in our compting-houſe; and ſome have wondered, how ſuch a blockhead, at the bottom, came to be raiſed ſo high; he has nothing to diſtinguiſh him, that I know of, except a great many books, which he does not underſtand; and coins and medals, the trumpery furniture of a dull antiquary; and there are many others, whoſe abilities are of the ſame ſcantling; that have large ſalaries too; and who, were they paid according to their intrinſic worth and importance, would not receive a fourth part of their preſent incomes. Beſides, lucrative as their places are, few, as I have heard, are contented with them, but fleece our creditors, who have draughts upon us, under the ſoft name of perquiſites; that is, fleece ourſelves; for every penny, ſtrictly ſpeaking, comes out of our own pockets. Theſe Mr. *Bull*, are ſhameful abuſes, and I confeſs bring diſhonour upon our management; and I do promiſe, I will go hand in hand with you in correcting theſe evils, and put the interiour and domeſtic part of our ſyſtem upon a better footing; as ſoon as our ſuit is determined: then we ſhall have leiſure to attend to this buſineſs; and ſhould it make a little uproar in the houſe, no great inconveniencies can ariſe.

WELL Mrs. *Bull*, you talk now like a ſenſible woman, and a good houſewife: and I can aſſure you, if things go on at the rate they have done for many years paſt, we ſhall ſoon be driven to this extremity, or undo our tenants; and

pray,

Pray, why may we not make a beginning now? I told you, my dear; becauſe it will make ſuch a combuſtion in the houſe, as you cannot but have obſerved in families, far leſs numerous than ours: nay the lawyers themſelves, for ought I know, may take offence; and, when the hearing of our cauſe comes on, plead booty: this meaſure then, though right in itſelf, is, I think in the preſent criſis, raſh and premature; and where our all is in a manner at ſtake, let us lie ſnug, and wait for a fairer wind.

You miſtake me, Mrs. *Bull*; you ſeem to apprehend, I mean to proceed to root and branch, and make a total reform at once: that is not my ſcheme, and might be improper at preſent: I propoſe to leſſen the number of my ſervants, and reduce the wages of the upper ones gradually; or if it be thought an inconvenient time to do this; let a higher poundage be laid upon their ſalaries, than they now pay; that perhaps may anſwer the ſame end; and we ſhall not be neceſſitated to preſs ſo hard upon our tenants; the great point I aim at: and either of theſe expedients may, I conceive, be ſo managed, as to hazard little diſturbance. As how; Mr. *Bull!* I ſhall be glad to ſee that point cleared: — why; thus: our ſervants, you know hold their places by courteſy; and if they do not like them with a new burden; let them throw up; there are perſons enow ready to accept them. As to leſſening the number; proceed, as in reducing a horſe's tail; we muſt not lay hold of a conſider-

able part at once, but take two or three hairs at a time, and the horſe will neither winch nor kick. And a ſimilar conduct may be applied to our domeſticks: to be ſure, we muſt employ as many as our buſineſs calls for; but let there be no ſupernumeraries: by ſuch an œconomy we ſhall in time bring our finances into a better condition, and be able to pay off ſome of our debts; as well as raiſe caſh for our preſent ſuit: and if we do not contrive ſome ſuch ſaving methods, what will become of us? ſhould another law-ſuit ariſe, (and as we live near quarrelſome neighbours, we cannot expect to be long without one;) we ſhall not have a penny to defend our rights; and then poor *John Bull*, once the greateſt clothier in Europe, is a bankrupt for ever; muſt ſhut up all his ſhops and warehouſes; and turn journeyman in his grey hairs to Lewis for bread: but before that black day arrives, I hope to be depoſited quietly in my grave; and that poſterity will do this juſtice to my memory; that I did all in my power to prevent my ruin; but that I was plundered, pawned, betrayed, and at laſt fell a ſacrifice to the ignorance and knavery of my own ſervants.

O Mr. *Bull!* you talk wildly; you are too gloomy; you view things in the very worſt light, and paint futurity, as if it ſtood naked before your eyes. For my part I hope, nay, I believe better things, and that all will end well at laſt.—But, my dear, our debates have inſenſibly worn away the hours; and it is improper for

for us invalids to ſit up late. As they had for ſeveral years kept ſeparate beds, Will lighted his maſter into his chamber; Betty lighted her miſtreſs into hers. I am,

D. Mr. FREEHOLDER,

Your very humble Servant,

PUBLICOLA.

No. 40. SATURDAY, *May* 8, 1756.

If men will take the ſame Meaſures, they may eaſily bring their Hogs to ſuch another Market.
ENGLISH MEMORIAL, p. 2.

To the FREEHOLDER.

SIR,

THE advantage of examples is to ſteer wide of thoſe dangers and diſtreſſes, which overtake the bold, vicious, and ignorant adventurers in every ſtation. So far private vices, or miſconduct of individuals may be admitted to be of public benefit.

THEY who condemn the folly or exceſs of their neighbours, would be more blameable ſhould they copy in their own lives and conduct, the cauſe of their diſgrace and ruin. And in high life, the ruler of a people is not more pardonable, ſhould he forget the duty of his ſtation,

ſtation, and attempt, or yield to advice, which would involve him in practices of ſtate, that had dethroned a predeceſſor.

THIS is confirmed in private life, ſo continually, that it requires no illuſtration: nor do we want examples of it on the throne of kings; or in the adminiſtration of ſtates. Monarchs, who uſurped upon the liberties of their ſubjects, or permitted their miniſters to oppreſs them by fraud or violence, have not only felt their preſent reſentment, but entailed averſion upon the royal family. And ſhould ever a miniſtry run ſuch lengths in oppreſſive meaſures, as to raiſe a jealouſy in the people's affection, and put the prince upon calling in foreign ſoldiers, the uſual reſort of arbitrary power, to compel them to bear, with ſilence, many intolerable pains, penalties, and taxes, let them reflect upon the fatal conſequences of thoſe evil councils, which have ſo often brought miſery and ruin upon their country, and never eſcaped the revenge of an abuſed and exaſperated nation. Fortune may ſmile upon them for a while, but moſt of them have died by poiſon, the ſword, or the executioner. The ſame meaſures, by what means ſoever palliated, for a ſeaſon, to deceive, or to keep the ſubject in awe, have one time or other been attended with the like effects. By nature men imbibe the principle of ſelf preſervation, and are ſtrongly prompted to retaliation: and by their original contracts with their governors in-

ſiſt upon protection, and their legal rights and privileges.

THE Duke of *Normandy*, commonly called the *Conqueror*, was ſo well ſatisfied of this truth, that having ſeized upon the crown by force, he truſted not to the length of his ſword, nor to oppreſſive meaſures to ſecure it to himſelf and family, but reſtrained his followers from violence and oppreſſion, leaſt by injuries they ſhould provoke thoſe to riſe up againſt them, whom they had already ſubdued. It is true he bridled the natives by arms; but then he reſtrained thoſe very arms by equitable laws.

TO what ſhall we attribute the ſucceſs of the Norman ſword? had not Harold impoliticly diſobliged his army, by denying the ſoldiers the rich plunder of the Norwegian camp in the defeat of *Toſti* and his aſſociates, he might have made a better defence. It is a common obſervation, that when the national forces by ſea or land are deprived of the price of their blood, they ſeldom remain true to the intereſt of their prince, and repent of former ſervices. Had not the nation been divided into factions, had not the nobles been given up to gluttony and a diſſolute life, neglected all religious worſhip, contrived fetters to enſlave the common people; debauched their daughters, whom they had in their ſervice, and then turned them off to the ſtews: had not the clergy exchanged their devotion and learning for the riches, gayety and pleaſures of the world: and had not the meaner ſort conſumed

ſumed their time and ſubſtance in rioting, drunkenneſs, and ſuch other vices as effeminate human reaſon, the Norman would never have thought of ſuch an attempt. And as they were diviſions, and factions, immorality and impiety that occaſioned ſuch a revolution at that time, we ought carefully to remember that the ſame cauſes ordinarily produce the ſame effects: and though offences or diſcontents will ariſe, there is a woe pronounced againſt thoſe by whom they come. How literally this was accompliſhed on the factious and vicious Engliſh, may be collected from what an eminent hiſtorian relates, 'That the Conqueror at laſt having reduced 'them by an army of Norman mercenaries, the 'foreigners devoured the riches of England, and 'eat out its very bowels.'

THE adminiſtration of King John who had diſpoſſeſſed many great people without any judgment of their peers, and otherwiſe attempted to eſtabliſh his tyrannical will inſtead of law, obliged the nation to arm in their own defence, and to compel him, upon the word of a king, ſolemnly to ſwear, that he would perform, execute, and obſerve certain terms, laws, conditions, and limitations made and agreed on by them, of which the principal and moſt fundamental are:

THAT no freeman be impriſoned, baniſhed, proſecuted, impleaded, or any other way deſtroyed, but by lawful judgment of his peers, or by the law of the land.

THAT no man be amerced or fined to more than he is worth, and that his contentment or means of living be ſtill left to him.

THAT by a man's peers or equals ſhall be always underſtood the good lawful men of his neighbourhood.

THAT his ſacred Majeſty will not deny, nor defer to any man juſtice nor right.

THAT parliaments ſhould be held once in the year at the leaſt.

THAT London and all the ancient cities and corporations in England ſhould hold and enjoy all their privileges and immunities.

THAT his Majeſty ſhould make no new laws, nor raiſe any money but by conſent of parliament.

BUT as they had forgot that the firſt leſſon in king-craft was in thoſe days to keep no condition againſt their intereſt, they preſently found that theſe laws, made for the ſecurity of the liberties of England, were inſufficient; and woful experience has frequently demonſtrated that they were unable to reſiſt the power and influence of bad kings. And as by the conſtitution of England there are no ſufficient means, nor proviſion made to curb nor to puniſh the inſolence of tyrants, nor powerful mediator to ſtand as a ſkreen between prince and people; ſo when the ſubjects find themſelves aggrieved and have no ordinary means or redreſs, to which they can have recourſe, nor ſo much as an opportunity to vent their

their diſcontent and miſery, they, who are as far from being ſaints, as their kings are from being angels, do preſently betake themſelves to extraordinary means in ſpite of paſſive obedience and non-reſiſtance. For there is no medium in Britain between perfect tyranny and mere anarchy and confuſion; whenever one part of the conſtitution uſurps upon another.

JOHN'S mercenary ſoldiers, deſiring war more than peace continually whiſpered in his ears, 'That he was no longer a king, but the 'ſcorn of other princes: and that it was more 'eligible to be no king than ſuch a one as he;' and prevailed with him to revoke and make his conceſſions and agreement void. But before he durſt venture to pull off the maſk, his Majeſty diſpatched his agents to hire a numerous body of foreign troops, promiſing large poſſeſſions and ſums of money to thoſe ſubſidiaries who would arm themſelves in his cauſe. By which means having collected a numerous army of deſperate foreigners, whoſe miſerable fortunes at home eaſily drew them to any miſchief abroad; he erected his ſtandard againſt his ſubjects, and ranged through all parts with his cruel mercenaries, who ſpared neither age nor ſex.

THE barons finding their eſtates given to ſtrangers, their fortunes ruined, and that neither their perſons nor property could otherwiſe be ſecured againſt the tyranny and oppreſſion of their ſovereign, reſolved, after his example, to

call in foreign aſſiſtance, and to ſeek for protection under a foreign prince.

By which and ſuch like inſtances in our hiſtory there is great reaſon to reflect upon the wiſdom of England, when we conſider, that rebellion, which in itſelf is one of the moſt odious crimes in the world, is the only remedy which our nation had to ſecure itſelf from time to time againſt the encroachments and impoſitions of the crown.

Thus the iſland became a field of blood; and the king being hunted from place to place, expired with grief, after a troubleſome and unfortunate reign, occaſioned by his giving too much ear to foreign councils, and attempting to rule by a ſtanding army of mercenary and foreign troops.

Harry the Third treading too nearly in his father's ſteps, the diſcontented nobility threatened to compel him to make them competent ſatisfaction; refuſed to raiſe money for the exigencies of the ſtate till he had confirmed the liberties of the nation; and remonſtrated againſt his taking foreigners into his pay, alledging, 'That by pernicious councils he had called in '*Poictovins*, and other foreigners to the great 'oppreſſion of his native ſubjects, and the breach 'of their laws and liberties; and humbly be'ſought him to regulate theſe diſorders in the 'government, otherwiſe his nobility would with'draw themſelves from his councils ſo long as 'he made uſe of ſtrangers.' It is true, that wicked

wicked miniſter, the Biſhop of Wincheſter, inſiſted, that the king might call in whomſoever he pleaſed for the defence of his crown, and that in ſuch numbers as were ſufficient to reduce his proud and rebellious ſubjects to obedience. But this was far from appeaſing the jealouſies of the people. The lovers of their country retired from court, and having promiſed faithfully to aſſiſt each other to the laſt drop of their blood, declared by ſelect meſſengers to the king, 'That unleſs, the Biſhop of Wincheſter and 'the *Poictovins* were immediately removed, 'they would by the common council of the 'kingdom force both him and thoſe evil coun-'ſellors out of the realm, and would conſult 'about creating a new king.' And accordingly by force of arms obliged his majeſty to comply with their juſt remonſtrance; and moreover, to promiſe to rely wholly upon his natural born ſubjects for advice, and to leave all others; being firmly reſolved, *that they would no longer impoveriſh themſelves to enrich foreigners.*

THE fate of *Edward* the *Second*, which was the effect of the evil councils of the vicious *Gaveſton*, a foreigner, and of *Hugh Spencer*, ſhould be a warning to all poſterity never to riſque the tranquility of the kingdom and the ſafety of the crown to the ill-placed affection for a favourite, whoſe abilities lie in forging chains for the ſubject, and who maintains his ſtanding near the throne by ſoothing the paſſions of the ſovereign. The favourites were executed by the barons,

and the king was declared unfit to govern, and dethroned; 'Becauſe he was miſled and govern-'ed by thoſe, who gave him evil council, to the 'diſhonour of himſelf, and the deſtruction of 'the church, and of his people; nor would re-'medy thoſe things, when he was petitioned by 'the chief men of the kingdom, nor ſuffer them 'to be redreſſed.' Upon which occaſion the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* made a ſermon upon theſe words, *the voice of the people is the voice of God.*

THE extraordinary poll-tax, though laid on for a French war, and when the Scots had entered the northern borders with fire and ſword, was the cauſe of a dangerous rebellion in the reign of Richard II. and his majeſty's refuſal to remove the Lord Chancellor and the Duke of Ireland from their offices and the royal preſence, was the cauſe of a joint reſolution in both houſes of parliament, 'That they neither could 'nor would proceed in any buſineſs, or diſpatch 'the leaſt articles till the king came in perſon 'amongſt them, and removed the Chancellor 'from his office; and that they had an ancient 'conſtitution.—That if the king through evil 'council, obſtinacy, contempt of his ſubjects, 'or by any other irregular courſes, ſhould alie-'nate himſelf from his people, and refuſe to 'govern by the laws and ſtatutes of the realm, 'and ſhould precipitate himſelf into wild de-'ſigns, and abandon himſelf to his arbitrary 'will; that from that time it ſhould be lawful

'for

'for his people, by their full and free conſent, 'to *depoſe* that king from his throne, and ſet up 'another of the royal family.'

His majeſty for the preſent found means to ward off this blow. But through his extravagancies, being driven to ſeveral ſchemes for fleecing his ſubjects of large ſums of money, and ſome, which cramp'd the trade of the nation; removing from all places of profit and truſt, all perſons that either had or might oppoſe him; and packing a parliament of his own creatures by indirect practices, and by the management of the returning officers, he haſtened his certain ruin. For, though all things for the preſent ſeemed to concur with the king's deſigns; the heads of the party, which ſo long oppoſed him, being cut off, and the nobility either terrified or bribed by honours or eſtates; the commons being unable to expreſs their reſentments otherwiſe than in ſighs and murmurs; and the great officers of ſtate, and the very parliaments were new modelled according to his pleaſure; ſo as no king ſince the conqueſt had been more abſolute than he was at this time: yet notwithſtanding all his power and grandeur, in a ſhort time, by ſmall accidents and unlikely inſtruments, he was more plunged and embroiled than ever, and without reſiſtance reduced to a ſhort and ſpeedy deſtruction.

His bad example, abandoning himſelf to ſoft eaſe and the deſtructive charms of pleaſure, ſo influenced the nobility, that they gave themſelves

ſelves up to ſloth and luxury, which introduced cowardice and effeminacy, and deſtroyed both manhood and reputation. The public affairs in the hands of ſuch managers, who were biaſſed by private advantages, ſuffered greatly both at home and abroad. The nation declined both in honour and riches; our navigation and commerce were interrupted by the French, and many places in the dominions abroad were either ſold by treachery or loſt by negligence. The profits and revenues of the crown and of the whole kingdom were farmed or mortgaged to money-jobbers or favourites, who unmercifully racked and oppreſſed the ſubjects: great ſums of money were by new invented methods rather extorted than borrowed from all ſorts of people, without any real ſervice ariſing from thence to the kingdom. In this deplorable condition, the king in a manner beſieged by ignorant miniſters and ſordid flatterers, who kept him from all relief of good council, and rendered him univerſally hated, was not capable of making any reſiſtance in caſe of an invaſion or inſurrection, and was obliged to ſurrender both his perſon and his crown to the firſt invader.

P.

No. 41. SATURDAY, *May* 15, 1756.

'Tis hard to perſuade the people that misfortunes come by chance, when the miniſters are ſuſpected.
HALLIFAX.

Mr. FREEHOLDER.

SIR,

THE ſtateſman, to whom the public are indebted for the motto, is ſuppoſed to have the adminiſtration of his own times chiefly in remembrance: under which the nation had been expoſed to reproach, for committing hoſtilities upon the Dutch, without a declaration of war; and to their reſentment, by pocketting the public money, while the enemy alarmed the very capital, and burnt our ſhips at anchor; which ought to have been properly ſtationed to maintain the ſuperiority at ſea.

THESE, with other misfortunes, raiſed a general clamour againſt Arlington, Buckingham, and Lauderdale, whoſe counſels were ſuſpected, and whoſe deſigns to make the king abſolute, were ſo much feared by the people and parliament, that it was found neceſſary to purſue the ſame meaſures in the houſe of commons as were begun by the parliament in 1640, to obviate evil counſels, to protect the nation from arbitrary power, to remove the ſuſpected miniſters, and to reſtore the government to its natural ſtate.

IT

IT was no protection from the power of the people's repreſentatives, to ſkreen themſelves under the royal favour: they addreſſed his Majeſty, 'To remove the evil counſellor from all 'his employments, and from his preſence, and 'his councils, for ever, being a perſon obnoxious 'and dangerous to the government.' The miſfortunes then complained of, among others, were that the public money had been embezzled: that iniquitous and contradictory treaties had been made; and that the Smyrna fleet had been attack'd before a declaration of war. Nor could they be deterred by any artifices of the court from impeaching the miniſter, whom, as Mr. Powle, a member in the houſe of commons affirmed, the people ſuſpected to be, 'The perſon to 'whom they owed the dangers and fears of the 'French King againſt this nation: to whom was 'owing the groundleſs jealouſy of the King to-'wards his ſubjects: to whom was owing the 'ruin of this nation, and the exhauſting of the 'king's revenue: to whom was owing the ex-'pence of two hundred thouſand pounds *per* '*ann.* unaccounted for: to whom was owing the 'raiſing of a ſtanding army to enſlave them: 'and who made up his accounts, in the trea-'ſury, as he pleaſed, to enrich himſelf out of 'the ſpoils of the people.'

THEY who feel the effects of bad council, who are involved in ſuch treaties with their neighbouring ſtates that the maintaining of one, muſt be a breach of another, and are burthened with ſuch a load of taxes to pay the intereſt of debts con-

tracted in the defence of foreign territories, and exceeding the natural abilities of their own country: who are denied the uſe of arms in their own defence, and obliged to maintain an army of mercenary and foreign troops: who ſuffer all the diſtreſſes of a war in their expences and trade, and with a ſuperior power permit the enemy to eſcape their reſentment, and to carry fire and ſword into their territories; will never refrain their complaints againſt a miniſtry, under which ſuch misfortunes ariſe, and will always ſuſpect the miniſters, whoſe talents diſplay their abilities in flattery to their prince, and in meaſures to deſtroy the power of the people.

WHAT raiſed the indignation of the Engliſh againſt Ranulph Biſhop of Durham, whom Rufus raiſed from a mean parentage to the head of the treaſury? was it not his plundering of the nation to feed the appetite of a prince, whoſe father was tranſlated from a hungry dukedom, on the continent, to the throne of England? and who was never ſatisfied with the riches extorted by this agent of his avarice. By which means we find that he entailed infamy on the memory of his maſter and his government, and was at laſt impriſoned and loaded with irons to pacify the clamours of the injured ſubjects.

What brought *Gaveſton* to the block? but his mancipating the king; his ability in alienating the royal affections from the ſubject, and his attempt to place only his own creatures about the

the king, by forcing all faithful counſellors from court.

It would be too minute to relate the cauſes, which in former reigns laid the miniſters under ſuſpicion, and brought ſo many of them, to an unhappy end. It will be ſufficient to caution poſterity againſt them, by only obſerving, that thoſe miniſters have at all times been the moſt ſuſpected of indirect and malevolent practices, who have neglected the true intereſt of the *realm*, and taken no care of the public treaſure: who rather chuſe to conceal their errors and blunders, by proceeding in a wrong meaſure, and to ſupport their miſconduct by calling in the princes authority, than to acknowledge their miſtake and recede: who enter upon new and deſperate councils without duly weighing the conſequences to the nation, or forming a proper plan of operations to be wiſely and vigorouſly executed; but leaving all to hazard and riſque: who are determined to do any thing to maintain their own poſts, and to ſupport their own meaſures, though ever ſo hurtful to the king and his people: who ſeparately and privately acknowledge the miſconduct of the miniſtry, affirm that they were againſt this and that bad meaſure; accuſe their aſſociates in the miniſtration, of every miſcarriage; but continue to augment the misfortunes of the nation by diſhonourable and unnatural ſchemes for raiſing of money, and by promoting or yielding to councils, which tend to the ruin of trade, impoveriſhing the ſubject, and to the introduction of arbitrary

power, or to ſubject theſe kingdoms to a foreign yoke.

HAD Great-Britain the misfortune to be under the influence of ſuch a malevolent meteor at this time, what a dreadful ſcene would it be, to be expoſed, in the preſent criſis, to *ignorance*, *negligence*, and *corruption!* had this nation a miniſtry, either ſo ignorant, as to be inſenſible in what the chief ſtrength of this nation lies; or where the enemy is chiefly to be diſtreſſed: or ſo negligent, as to delay the neceſſary orders for annoying the enemy, and ſecuring our own dominions: or ſo corrupt, as firſt to ſecure a majority in the p——t to aſſiſt them to fleece the people of the greateſt part of their wealth, under vain appearances of danger from abroad; to protect them againſt the reſentment of an abuſed people, and to approve of, or to connive at their colluſive negociations, whereby any part of the Britiſh Empire might be diſmembered and loſt; what would become of us? what could hinder Minorca from falling a prey to a Toulon ſquadron? what could prevent the large ſupplies of men and ſhips ſailing from Breſt to drive us out of the American trade? what could retard the grand ſchemes of Lewis and his predeceſſors to reduce this iſland to be a province of France? for, what power ſoever can find means to make us waſte our riches, the ſinews of war, in fruitleſs expeditions, numerous inactive fleets and armies, or in a wrong purſuit of their intentions; and thereby find an opportunity to lop off one member after another, the main body would

would ſeverely feel the loſs: and ſhould a mortification or conſumption follow, which is commonly the caſe, where the contuſion, or bleeding is too potent for the conſtitution, there would be an end of the *once* moſt flouriſhing kingdom upon earth.

If then the miniſtry, who at this time have been ſo highly favoured by the repreſentatives of the people, as to be enabled, and that by new-invented methods, to raiſe more *money* than King William ever required, or Queen Anne ever expended in any one campaign, when the power of France both by ſea and land was much greater, and was defeated by the Britiſh arms; ſhould laviſh away the public treaſure in ſubſidiary treaties, and raiſing numerous armies by land, and in equipping the moſt formidable navy that ever plowed the ocean; and either for want of proper intelligence, or through an error in judgment, miſtaking the object of the enemy's operations, or for ſome private intereſt, which I hope will never be the caſe, leave any place deſtitute or expoſed, they certainly would be ſuſpected of IGNORANCE, or NEGLIGENCE, or CORRUPTION.

Should it happen that the iſland of Minorca is ſurprized by a French invaſion from Toulon; would it not give the people room to entertain ſome diſadvantageous ſurmiſes of the abilities, watchfulneſs, or integrity of thoſe, who had undertaken the management of public affairs? Or, ſhould it upon enquiry be confirmed, that even thoſe few men of war, which were

were ſtationed in thoſe ſeas, had been called home at a time that the hoſtile intentions of the French were publickly proclaimed by their emiſſaries in every court of Europe; would they not grumble at the vaſt ſums of money they have paid for upwards of fifty years, to defend that poſt in the Mediterranean for the protection of our Levant trade, and other advantageous purpoſes in the courſe of our navigation? and to hear that a place, which no former miniſters, though ever ſo notorious for blunders and corruption, never left without a fleet to cover it from the united ſtrength of France and Spain in time of war; had been neglected and obliged to ſurrender to a pitiful ſquadron of ſhattered French men of war, that had the impudence to give the world notice of their intention? notwithſtanding the evident weakneſs of their navy, which in their chief ports of Breſt and Rochfort are and have been for ſeveral months blocked up by fifteen men of war only, under the command of a faithful and courageous Britiſh admiral. I apprehend ſuch a misfortune would not only raiſe the clamour of the public, but their cries might awaken their repreſentatives. For certainly, ſuch a loſs would be little inferior to that of Gibraltar, whoſe ſurrender in a late reign, though but tenderly intimated, was properly reſented by both houſes, ſoon after the acceſſion of his preſent majeſty to the throne.

WHAT then might be the conſequence of a neglect to ſtrengthen our American colonies?

ſhould the French by artful inſinuations confine the intention of the Britiſh miniſtry to a European war only, and by threatening England with an invaſion, find an opportunity to tranſport a force powerful enough to wreſt out of our hands thoſe valuable nurſeries of our navigation, markets for our manufactures, and mines from whence we draw the greateſt part of our riches: who would ſcruple to aſcribe ſuch a misfortune to the miniſters? We hope better things. Though the French have got the ſtart of us, the m——y has ſent a fleet after them; which, if it arrives in time, might, PERHAPS, be ſtrong enough to ſave the nation the expence and trouble of an *imp——t.*

THEREFORE I ſincerely pray to Almighty GOD, who has ſo often wonderfully diſtinguiſhed the Britiſh nation by his protection againſt its ſecret and open enemies, that he will graciouſly continue his favour by preſerving us from thoſe impending dangers, which threaten the nation from without, and from thoſe misfortunes, which might give them juſt reaſon to ſuſpect the miniſters of ſtate: that he will eſtabliſh the throne of theſe kingdoms in righteouſneſs, teach its ſenators wiſdom, and guard his Majeſty from ſuch counſellors as would proſtitute his ſacred name to meaſures deſtructive to the true intereſt of their king and country: and that, if all human means ſhould fail, or be fruſtrated by the crafts or ſubtleties of the devil or man, he will confound their devices, and go forth

forth with our fleets and armies; as in thoſe times, when we were taught to pray, *Becauſe there is none other that fighteth for us, but only thou, O God!*

Q.

No. 42. SATURDAY, *May* 22, 1756.

Suſcipienda bella ſunt, ut in pace ſine injuria vivatur. CIC. 1 Offic.

Mr. FREEHOLDER.

SIR,

THE extraordinary concourſe of the people at the declaration of war on laſt Tueſday, in this metropolis, excited my curioſity to mix with the crowd, as the beſt means to come at their ſentiments on ſuch a public event; nor did I fail in my judgment on this occaſion.

THE multitude was compoſed of a great variety of politicians; but moſt of them ſeemed to ground their fears and their hopes, their approbation and diſlike of this neceſſary meaſure upon a miſtaken principle.

A MAJORITY appeared for war: but their number was greatly multiplied by the friends of the army and navy; who looking upon war as a trade, exulted with the expectation of thereby mending their preſent circumſtances, and were very ſanguine for its long continuance, without ſhewing any averſion to the hazard of

Spithead expeditions, or of bloody campaigns ſpun out in muſters and nice reviews.

AMONGST the diſſatisfied, the majority ſeemed to be a ſort of men, who by their obſequiouſneſs and blind obedience to men in power, expreſs their readineſs to ſupport any meaſure of the m———y; but on this ſolemn occaſion were induſtriouſly propagating a diſagreeable repreſentation of this meaſure, as if their patrons had been obliged to adopt *it*, in order to ſtop the mouths of people, ready to call them to an account for exhauſting their riches in the greateſt armaments, ever known in Britain, both by ſea and land; and at the ſame time permitting France to invade our territories. And I could perceive, that their inſinuations gained too much upon the effeminate and avaricious. They ſeemed no ways diſpleaſed at the public calamities of our fellow-ſubjects in America, nor of the imminent danger to which the Streights and Levant Trade would be expoſed by the loſs of Minorca, could they be delivered from the fears of an invaſion, and ſave two ſhillings in the land-tax.

HOWEVER there did not want men, though by their fortune and ſtation in life they were likely to contribute moſt to the expence of the war, and to be otherwiſe the greateſt ſufferers, who applauded the reſolution, and inſiſted upon the neceſſity there has been in the Britiſh nation for a long time to oppoſe the French hoſtilities by open force, and to treat the French

French King and his ſubjects as our avowed and irreconcileable enemies. For, ſaid they, can a declaration of war be attended with more calamitous circumſtances, than to be continually alarmed with invaſions and other attempts upon our dominions and property? is it not as expenſive to be driven to the neceſſity of maintaining an army on our coaſts, and a fleet in a capacity to ſail upon the firſt orders for the defence of territories, as to ferrit the enemy out of their lurking places, and to repel force by force? it is well known, that whatever nation has reaſon to ſuſpect the faith and hoſtile preparations of their neighbours, though they do not invade it, they ſtrike ſuch a terror into its inhabitants, as ſenſibly affects its manufactures at home, and its trade and navigation abroad.

As for my own part, the reaſoning of theſe lovers of their country operated ſo powerfully upon my intellects, that I immediately recollected the admirable ſentence, with which the Roman orator on a proper occaſion, has furniſhed me for a motto; and from thence infer, That *we begin this war, that we may not be injured in time of peace.*

How far I may be allowed to indulge myſelf in this application, may be evidently ſeen in that authentic inſtrument, where the king himſelf informs, not only his ſubjects but all the world, "That the proceedings of the French in the Weſt Indies and North America, ſince the concluſion of the treaty of Aix la Chapelle, are

unwarrantable: "That the uſurpations and encroachments made by them upon Nova Scotia and other territories in thoſe parts, ſubject to the crown of Great Britain, are notorious, and ſo frequent, as to be a ſufficient evidence of a form'd deſign and reſolution in the court of France to purſue invariably ſuch meaſures, as ſhould moſt effectually promote their ambitious views without any regard to the moſt ſolemn treaties and engagements: "That they upon the moſt frivolous pretences, have evaded the frequent aſſurances expreſly given to evacuate the neutral iſlands: "That in a time of profound peace, without any declaration of war, they break out into open acts of hoſtility; and at a time the French ambaſſador was ſent with ſpecious pretences of a deſire to accommodate theſe differences, they were tranſporting more forces to America to enable them to carry their ambitious and oppreſſive projects into execution: and 'That the French King has not only repaired and enlarged Dunkirk, but threatened theſe kingdoms with an invaſion, and has actually invaded the iſland of Minorca; whereby that monarch diſcovers a determined reſolution to hearken to no terms of peace, and to carry on the war, which has been long begun on his part, with the utmoſt violence.

Is it not evident that we have been continually injured under the ſpecious name of peace? has not France made uſe of the formalities at Aix la Chapelle to divert us from that due attention

tention we ought always to give to her ambitious and perfidious ſchemes? and to amuſe us with frivolous negociations aud inſincere aſſurances of a peaceable and equitable diſpoſition, while ſhe was recruiting her ſtrength, and ſo diſpoſing her forces as might enable her to diſpoſſeſs us from thoſe territories in North America, which preſcription and the ſeveral treaties between the two kingdoms of England and France have confirmed to be our right and property? and has Great Britain any other alternative, after ſo long waiting for the terms of an amicable accommodation, than by a vigorous exertion of that power, which God and nature has put into the hands of our king, to compel that perfidious nation to evacuate their encroachments, to abandon their uſurpations, and to ſubmit to ſuch terms, as ſhall put it out of their power to give the like uneaſineſs, trouble and expence to their neighbours, for the future?

But ſhould this war prove to be a miniſterial colluſion, a meaſure neceſſary for facilitating the raiſing of taxes; or an expedient after the people had been fleeced full as much as they are able to yield at one ſhearing, to frighten them into an inſidious peace, what would become of Britain? and to relieve the nation from theſe apprehenſions, it is incumbent upon thoſe in power, not only to conduct the war, which his Majeſty has declared unavoidable and neceſſary, with integrity, prudence and vigour; but to patch up no peace till the juſt cries of

the nation ſhall be ſatisfied, and the terms offered by the enemy are found to be ſuch as no free parliament can diſapprove.

A WAR committed to the management of ſuch, whoſe integrity does not ſtand in the beſt of light, or whoſe abilities in martial affairs have been more ſuſpected to favour the enemy's eſcape, than of that inviolable ſecrecy, with which the councils of his king and country ought to be *kept*, would be far from anſwering the end of his Majeſty's declaration, or obtaining for Great Britain and its dominions ſecurity from injuries in time of peace. Nothing leſs than purſuing every meaſure with fidelity and vigour, and oppoſing, counteracting and diſtreſſing the enemy in every place and attempt, according to the ſupplies granted by the people, can quit the miniſtry from the guilt of puſillanimity, ignorance, or corruption. Nor can a war procure for us the deſirable ſecurity of a laſting and peaceable poſſeſſion of our rights and property, ſhould it be protracted with other views than to force the enemy to equitable terms.

A PEACE worded in a dark and ambiguous manner can never guard us againſt cavils and diſputes: it would expoſe us to the artifices of thoſe, who are not in a capacity to decide the right in the field. It is by theſe kinds of peace, Great Britain has ſo often been obliged to return to arms. Had there been no claims

left undetermined at Aix la Chapelle: had the peace-maker on the part of Britain inſiſted upon the evacuation of Crown Point, and their other French encroachments on the Ohio in America, and in Nova Scotia, there would have been no room left for this after-game. The circumſtances of our enemies, when they made overtures of peace, were ſo contracted; their finances exhauſted, their manufactures locked up, and their navigation deſtroyed; that it would be difficult to know whether to attribute it to corruption, or to an abſolute ignorance of our own rights and property, that any point was left undecided or any place unevacuated.

NOW is the time to rectify the miſtakes of former miniſters, and to reſtore the honour and welfare of Britain. The ſword is drawn; and, as our ſovereign informs us, it is drawn to defend our property and to puniſh the uſurpations, encroachments, and perfidy of France. And I hope it will never be ſheathed, till this nation ſhall obtain full ſatisfaction, and diſable that kingdom from giving her any future reaſon to lie upon her arms in time of peace.

CAN there be too much caution in giving peace to a people, who are recorded for their breach of faith, and for intermeddling in the affairs of every nation: who are known to embroil all wherever they come; and will riſque the event of a war rather than yield any point by negociation. And whoſe quiet conſiſts in the trouble of all others, and whoſe advantage always

always takes root in public calamities? yet this caution has been wanting more than once.

LET us then purſue the war with that vigour and fidelity, which have ſo often made the Gallic throne to ſhake. Let all factions ſubſide, and all parties unite in ſuch meaſures as will beſt coerce that power, which has broke through all treaties and promiſes, and under the ſanction of peace was carrying war ſecretly into our bowels. May all the ſecret *inſtruments* (if there be any) of that perfidious power be diſcovered and brought to condign puniſhment: and may heaven direct our councils, and inſpire us with a reſolution never to accept of any terms of accommodation, which may affect either our religion, reputation, peace, trade, or navigation.

SHOULD theſe be neglected, it will be difficult to perſuade a Briton, that the times are mended, or that more ſalutary meaſures are purſued; than when they had reaſon to complain of thoſe traitors to their country, ſo often mentioned in hiſtory, who joined with the prince in the ſpoil of the ſubjects; or kept him under ſuch reſtraints, as obliged him to be content with their miſrepreſentations of facts, in order to extort from him unjuſt orders to juſtify their wicked counſel. They will look upon this declaration of war to be only a ſcheme to keep the minds of the people in a continual hurry and agitation, and under conſtant fears and alarms, to prevent them from looking into public

public frauds; and to reduce them to ſuch a low ſtate, as to render them incapable of puniſhing thoſe, who under the name of peace, attempt to enſlave the people whom they had impoveriſhed by the exceſſive burden of a colluſive war. O.

No. 43. SATURDAY, *May* 29. 1756.

——Now
I ſee that moſt thro' ſloth had rather ſerve
Miniſtring ſpirits, train'd up in feaſt and ſong!
MILTON's Paradiſe Loſt, Book VI. l. 165.

WHOEVER with ſmall attention reads the ſtory from whence this motto is borrowed, and carries in his mind the ſatirical wit and political genius of the author, cannot be at a loſs for their application. His intention was to raiſe a ſtrong idea of the danger to which the freedom or liberty of angels themſelves is expoſed, ſhould their ſtrength depend on a weak or ignorant miniſtry;

——This is ſervitude
To ſerve th'unwiſe

or on an army of ſlaves, whoſe exiſtence is owing to the deſtruction of freedom;

Such

Such haſt thou armed, the minſtrelſey of heaven,
Servility with freedom to contend:

or on a degenerate, vicious, and corrupt people;

———Should not ſtrength and might
There fail, where virtue fails?

and in order to convey his argument with its due force, methinks, I hear the poet deſire his readers only to examine into the cauſe of all the misfortunes, which endangered their liberties under King Charles II. and of the reproach and ruin, to which the nation was expoſed from abroad. Is it not plain, that he repreſented the miniſtry to be compoſed of a ſet of men, who were more connected by their vices, than by that harmony, which ought to ſpring from hearts united in the intereſt of their country; who, if they could introduce a general corruption of manners, by encouraging luxury, gaming, and prodigality, did not doubt of making the people ſlaves, when they were enervated by ſloth?

But it was the happineſs of thoſe times, that the parliament, however complaiſant in money affairs, could not be ſo managed by the miniſtry as to ſuffer them to break in upon the conſtitution. They certainly were blameworthy for paſſing money-bills to ſupport vice, and to enable the court to make an attempt upon

on the integrity of the national repreſentatives: but the worſt of them retained ſuch a ſenſe of the duty they owed to their conſtituents, that neither places nor penſions could influence them to confirm or countenance any meaſure hatched at the council-board, which bore the leaſt appearance of danger to the laws and liberties of the people.

In a court, like that, where feaſt and ſong were the chief objects of life, nothing was neglected to deceive the nation into a ſtate of ſecurity and ſlothful inſenſibility, till the chains of ſervitude might be rivetted: and to paſs over the great variety of ſchemes for this purpoſe, I ſhall only take notice of the attempt to introduce a ſtanding army, without which it would be impoſſible to maintain abſolute power; and therefore is always propoſed with great tenderneſs, backed by the argument of neceſſity, and with promiſes of diſbanding, when the circumſtances of the times ſhould be mended.

However, theſe colourings could not prevent the wiſdom of parliament ſeeing through the real deſign of the court, to introduce, by law, a military power into the conſtitution; and foreſeeing, that ſhould they once give a ſanction to ſuch an innovation, it would be eaſy for the miniſtry, under various pretences, to obtain an augmentation of their mercenary forces; but that it might be very difficult, even for parliament, to diſband them, contrary to the inclination of thoſe, who were armed *ſervility*

vility with freedom to contend: and therefore could not be prevailed upon to give their voices for a ſtanding army. Neither the inſurrections at home, nor the threats of invaſions from abroad, were ſufficient to draw them into a ſnare, who, for their obſequiouſneſs to the crown in other particulars, drew upon themſelves the odium of the nation. They wiſely and honeſtly judged and reſolved that this iſland is principally to depend upon its *naval force*, and that its internal ſtrength could be *no* other than a well-regulated militia.

FOR, what power dare attempt an invaſion of Britain, when her fleets are in a capacity to maintain the dominion of the ſeas? what force can diſturb a government, whoſe lenity and equity are guarded by a militia, that continually lie upon their arms in readineſs to execute vengeance upon all rebels and invaders, from what quarter ſoever they may come? but it is not poſſible for Great-Britain to maintain an army either of native or foreign mercenaries, ſufficient to allay the fears of the people and miniſtry, when France threatens to pour an army of 60 or 100,000 men into different parts of Britain at once. The very expence of keeping ſuch an army on foot is more than the nation is able to bear: and ſhould France at any time terrify the miniſtry into ſuch a meaſure, as to force them to garriſon the whole iſland with mercenary troops; I fear nothing but military law would be able to raiſe the money to pay thoſe mercenaries.

naries. And thus without ſtriking a blow, the enemy with continual alarms would, in three or four years time, ruin our finances, and oblige us, like a fortreſs, inacceſſible by nature, but overſtocked with mouths, to capitulate on very diſadvantageous terms.

THEY ſpared no charge to put the marine into a reſpectable condition; and paſſed an act for a general militia. And ſo long as the crown paid due attention to thoſe means of ſafety, the national peace was neither diſturbed by invaders, nor in danger from the reſtleſs ſpirit of diſaffection. But the *miniſtring ſpirits* no ſooner diſcountenanced the militia, and ſought out other means of defence, than they filled the nation with diſcontent, and encouraged inſurrections and invaſions. For, where the ſubjects are diſarmed by law, it has always been found that they are moſt inclined to caſt off the government, which has rejected their love and aſſiſtance: and that an enemy entertains greater hopes of ſucceſs in his ſchemes to weaken and conquer them.

THESE obſervations are not founded merely in ſpeculation. The almoſt total neglect of the militia-act from the time of King James's impolitic reliance on a ſtanding army of mercenaries; and the numerous clauſes added to the laws of the cuſtoms and exciſe, to the riot act, to the game act, *&c. &c.* have gradually reduced this nation to a ſtate of inactivity; and our fears of dangers from foreign and

domeſtic enemies have kept pace with the decay of our military exerciſe, and with our total dependance on mercenary and foreign ſoldiers.

WAS not this the ſentiment of thoſe great and worthy repreſentatives of the people, who lately endeavoured to reſtore Britain to her ancient ſtrength and power by a new act for a well-regulated and diſciplined militia? did not the houſe of commons condemn the burdenſome, impractical, dangerous, and *unconſtitutional* method of defending theſe kingdoms by mercenaries, when they, after long and mature deliberation, paſſed this new act, for raiſing and keeping a regular militia, to eaſe us from the burden of ſtanding armies, and of hiring foreigners, and to deter our enemies from all attempts to invade us? is it not amazing that the peers of this land ſhould reject ſuch a bill? can it be ſuſpected, that moſt of them, through ſloth, had rather ſerve miniſtring ſpirits? or that they give themſelves up to luxury, intemperance, mirth, and gaiety, more than to the ſtudy of the national intereſt? ſhall it be recorded that the liberties, which were obtained, and the national ſafety, which was ſecured by the barons of this realm, ſupported by the people well exerciſed in the uſe of arms, were denied the natural defence of a militia by their ſucceſſors, or that they preferred a ſtanding army to the advantages of a general militia?

WILL it not be ſuſpected that the chief argument againſt this bill was the objection made

to

to it by thoſe, who find their advantage in keeping the nation under perpetual alarms, as the beſt means to raiſe money without murmurs, and to eſtabliſh a ſtanding force to carry any meaſures into execution? is it not moſt extraordinary, that there was none ſo diſcerning as not to diſcover its imperfections, or ſo abandoned to their country, as to throw it out of the houſe of commons; but that its deſtiny was reſerved to the upper houſe, and its impracticability not inſiſted upon till the third reading? will not poſterity be apt to think that the arguments for its utility were the cauſe of its misfortune, and ill treatment by the lords? for no objections founded upon the impracticability of a law, before it has been tried, can be ſufficient to reject it, where the utility cannot be denied; except a more practicable method is at the ſame time offered to carry it into execution. And I believe, the regiſter of parliament will ſcarce afford another inſtance of m——l influence, when a bill was rejected whoſe utility was univerſally acknowledged.

IT is granted, that the ſavings to the nation would be very great, becauſe there would never more be any need, or ſo much as a pretence for taking foreigners into pay. A German prince who traffics in human fleſh, and has no other market but Great-Britain, might with great propriety intereſt himſelf againſt ſuch a reſolution: but it is to be hoped that, as the act of ſettlement has excluded all foreigners

from a ſeat in parliament, there will be found no German hearts to ſupport an intereſt deſtructive to our country.

SUCH a bill would undoubtedly leſſen the expence of the army; becauſe there would never be wanting any more regular troops than are neceſſary to defend our fortreſſes and plantations. This would affect the dependants on a court, and reduce the influence of the miniſter, in proportion to the reduction of military offices: but theſe are reaſons for, and not againſt a militia bill.

A REGULAR militia would not only deliver us from the expence and danger of any other ſort of military aid within theſe kingdoms; but it is the only means to protect us from our enemies. The very nature of their ſituation would be a terror to the diſturbers or invaders of our peace: and their reputable ſtation amongſt their neighbours would relieve us from all fears of their cowardice or deſertion. They would be diffuſed in every pariſh throughout the nation; a continual and immediate terror to the diſaffected; and no leſs terrible to thoſe, who, in our preſent diſarmed ſituation, inſult us with chimerical invaſions. Z.

No. 44. SATURDAY, *June* 5, 1756.

———*Ibi fas, ubi maxima merces.*
LUCAN. L. X. Bello Civil.

THE attention of the nation for ſeveral months has been fixed upon their expectations raiſed by the extraordinary ſums of money levied upon the ſubject for their defence againſt the encroachments of a perfidious and powerful enemy. I could wiſh the event may anſwer their expectations. But if we may be allowed to form a judgment of their future conduct from the meaſures hitherto purſued by the m——y, our hopes will ſcarce get the better of our fears.

HAS the defence anſwered the expence? or has the nature of the defence recommended thoſe at the helm of ſtate either for their abilities, or faithful diſcharge of their truſt, with which they are inveſted, for maintaining the dignity and honour of the crown, and the ſafety and property of the ſubject? or rather, which no true lover of his country wiſhes to ſee, would not all their meaſures, in any other ſtate than Britain, indicate a tendency to introduce a military power, or a ſtanding army to over-awe the people?

WHERE have we ſeen a proper and effectual diſpoſition of our ſtrength? are we to look for

it in Britain? there the country is burdened with a numerous army; which can ſcarce be wanted in an iſland, whoſe navy is able to maintain the dominion of the ſeas. Are we to ſail for it into America? or to the rich and open iſlands in the Weſt-Indies? the weakneſs and ignorance, which defeated Braddock in Virginia; the danger to which the reſt of the Northern colonies are expoſed, and the little regard there is paid to the ſecurity of thoſe coaſts and Leeward Iſlands, put a negative upon our expectations from thoſe quarters. And ſhould we be referred to the care taken of, and proviſion made for defending the important iſland of Minorca; what can be ſaid in vindication of a miniſtry, who had left that iſland expoſed to the inſults of an enemy? Who kept the greateſt fleet that ever was in commiſſion, lying by the walls in the ports of Britain, till one of the limbs, moſt ſerviceable to the Britiſh commerce, was invaded by an enemy; whoſe power for ſuch an enterprize might have been locked up in Toulon by a fourth part of the Britiſh navy? can any one be blamed for his dread of what may befal a nation under ſuch an adminiſtration? or is it not to be feared, whether the numerous army of mercenaries, and foreigners raiſed, and brought into this kingdom, whoſe ſtrength lies in its fleets, be not deſtined for the ſupport of ſuch meaſures as may not be warrantable by our conſtitution?

'My jealouſy of forces enliſted, hired, and imported, almoſt without number, and without any appa-

apparent uſe for them in Great-Britain, is not a little increaſed by the new ſcheme of building *barracks* in different parts of this nation for the reception of thoſe ſoldiers. Does not ſuch a ſcheme naturally create a ſuſpicion that the army, now continued by parliament, only from year to year, is intended to be a perpetual ſtanding force in the power of the crown? and ſhould ſuch a ſtanding army be once ſecured, what other purpoſes could it ſerve, than to compel the ſubject to a blind obedience to the dictates of thoſe in power?

Is not this the intention of the author, who endeavours to ſhift the argument; and after laying it down for granted, that we muſt be ſaddled with a perpetual ſtanding army, argues for the neceſſity of barracks? and, by exhibiting a fair view of the injuſtice of quartering of ſoldiers on the publicans, and the diſagreeableneſs that would follow their being quartered on private families, artfully evades this objection againſt all ſtanding forces, and attempts to prevail with all ranks of the people to yield to alternatives, which would eaſe them of the burden and diſagreeableneſs of having ſoldiers quartered upon them; but, at the ſame time, to give up their liberty by acquieſcing in a ſtanding army, not only of Britons, but of Hanoverians and other foreigners.

It is ſeverely felt that the quartering of ſoldiers, year after year, without any viſible ſign of the army's being diſbanded, is a burden and a grie-

vance to that part of the nation, which is ſingled out at preſent to bear all, and may in time prove their inevitable deſtruction. But is this a reaſon for putting the nation to the danger, or to the expence of building barracks; but rather for reſtoring the practice of former ages? which was to teach the people the exerciſe of arms; to form them into a regular militia, ready to march at the firſt notice; and to diſband them as ſoon as the national ſafety would permit? it is a ſtrong argument againſt a *ſtanding army* in this kingdom; which will be ever eſteemed a nuſance; and, if continued by the preſent method of augmentation, muſt grow more terrible to the people, by whom they are paid, than a common enemy.

WHAT can be more ignorant than to argue for a ſtanding army, by ſaying, it would employ idle people, not adapted to induſtry: or, that trade and arms are reciprocally uſeful and beneficial to each other? is it ſafe for the ſtate to put arms into the hands of a people, who will not work for their ſupport, and throw themſelves upon the community for a maintenance? can it be expected that they would ever deliver us from the fear of our enemies, whoſe very exiſtence and well-being depend upon their continuing in pay? was it ever known that trade ever flouriſhed under military power? or does not every nation, which has been famous for trade and commerce, inform us, that it always dwindled away in proportion to the increaſe of a ſtand-

a ſtanding army, and the admiſſion of foreign troops into its bowels? we are not to expect that trade will flouriſh under the burden and hazard of an armed power; it muſt receive ſpirit and pre-eminence from *national virtue*. This will always make us triumph, and its want will pull down the moſt powerful and flouriſhing ſtate.

WHAT then does a late pamphleteer mean, who ſo confidently aſſerts, that "he knows, that, however we may deceive ourſelves with conceits of one day diſbanding the regulars, their number *will* and *muſt be enlarged?*" whatever foundation he may have for ſuch an aſſertion, I do not inquire; but I believe it is well known that a military and mercantile people are incompatible. And I am ſure, that the introducing ſuch an army, as is at this time in Britain, is not acting juſtly on the principles, by which the Britiſh ſtate has moſt generally, and with the beſt grace and character been ſupported; yet this, according to that author, is allowed to be *the great concern of a ſtate*.

How grievous are the apprehenſions raiſed by the increaſe of the military power? an army of our own mercenaries was always burdenſome, and never acceptable to the people at home: what then will they ſay, ſhould it be true, that the Hanoverians are come to ſettle among us for a number of years? are they to be pampered up in barracks, while our own ſoldiers ſhall be obliged to bear the burden and heat of the day?

perhaps the fate of King William's Dutch guards may deter them for a while, from taking their poſt in the avenues of St. James's: but it could not be a greater ſurprize to hear of the admiſſion of foreign troops about the perſon of his Majeſty, than to ſee them permitted by our ſuperiors in the church, to exerciſe Lutheraniſm in one of our cathedrals; though it muſt be confeſſed, this toleration is not ſo blameable as the unanimity, with which the B——s *joined* in the naturalization of the Jews.

But there is another conſideration concerning foreign troops imported into Britain, which ought to be well digeſted before they are truſted with arms. Are they within the limitations and conditions, under the reſtrictions, penalties, and puniſhments of the mutiny *bill*? if they are not, what dependance can there be on their ſervice, in caſe of national danger? may they not refuſe to act under the command of our ſovereign? can they be puniſhed for deſertion? Yet this is not the worſt reflection that ariſes from this meaſure. May it not be a cauſe of great diſguſt in the ſoldiery of this realm, to be ſupplanted by a foreign army? to be ſent abroad like felons to America, to make room for Heſſians and Hanoverians to eat the bread of idleneſs in Old-England? ſhould any of our domeſtic troops be ever decoyed or forced out of their native ſoil into a ſervice, that might be more properly performed by foreigners; they only, I hope, will feel the conſequences of an

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exaſperated ſoldiery. And, is it not moſt diſagreeable to all his ſubjects, for a prince to reject the offer of their lives, and to conſume their fortunes in the ſupport of armies, which are more their terror than their defence? and ſhould it ever come into their heads, that the keeping up an army of foreigners in theſe dominions is an exceſs of power; an extent of the prerogative, or an unparliamentary army, as not being ſubject to the act of mutiny; what could perſuade them, that the nature of our conſtitution is not thereby altered, or prevent them from taking ſuch meaſures of redreſs, as might be warranted by the petition of rights?

YET ſuch is the preſent poſture of our affairs, that inſtead of watching and counter-acting our enemies, our time has been taken up in ſubſidiary treaties, and in ways and means to raiſe money to pay their extraordinary demands. While the French have been ſtrengthening their ſubjects and allies in America; we have been buſy in bringing over German forces into Britain, and laviſhly conſumed ſeveral millions, by keeping our ſhips and forces at home: we pretend to defend the rectitude of a meaſure, which, without the greateſt intervention of Providence, muſt end with the loſs of Port Mahon and the iſland of Minorca; a loſs which will be ſeverely felt by the trade in the Mediterranean, and probably may ruin our trade with Turkey; and while the enemy has terrified us with their flat-bottomed boats, and with marching

ing their militia to the ſea coaſts; we have exerciſed our fleets in taking a few ſhips laden with fiſh, kept them till the cargo periſhed, and have rejected a bill, which, it is agreed on all hands, might have been amended ſo as to eſtabliſh a regular and well-diſciplined MILITIA. O.

No. 45. SATURDAY, *June* 12, 1756.

If men will take the ſame meaſures, they may eaſily bring their Hogs to ſuch another Market.
ENGLISH MEMORIAL, p. 2.

To the MONITOR.

SIR,

I HAVE, in the courſe of my reading, always found, that the diſtempers of a ſtate, the troubles, which perplex the ſovereign, and the oppreſſions of the people, have been the effects of a weak head, or of a bad heart: and that faction at home, and devaſtation from abroad, have never been able to rear their heads againſt the meaſures of a wiſe king and an honeſt miniſtry. A few examples will evince the juſtneſs of this obſervation. And, that they may be leſs exceptionable, I ſhall draw them from the hiſtory of our own nation; containing the method obſerved by me on a former occaſion.

THE luxury, viciouſneſs, and inordinate deſire of power, which brought about the great and wonderful revolution in the reign of King Richard the Second, would be ſtill as diſagreeable to the ſubject, as they were to the Engliſh in his time. Nothing leſs than his abdication could atone for his bad government. And rather than be ſlaves, or acquieſce in his oppreſſive meaſures, they tranſferred the crown and their allegiance to another family.

HAD his ſucceſſor, Henry the Fourth, called in to deliver the nation from arbitrary power, given himſelf up to the councils of wicked or weak miniſters, he would never have been able to maintain a diſputed title againſt the efforts of hereditary right. His title depended upon the good will of his ſubjects, which was to be preſerved and nouriſhed by a good and regular government, and by wiſe and ſufficient council. And as it was not any inherent merit either of his perſon or family, but the bad government of Richard which had placed him on the throne of England, he was ſenſible that any attempt on the liberty of the ſubject, or the appearance of an intention to diſable them by extraordinary taxes, or by a military power, from reſenting ſuch meaſures as had dethroned his predeceſſor, would bring him into the like misfortune; and therefore we read, "That he was ruled and adviſed by the ſages, and ancients of this kingdom, for the mutual ſuccour and comfort of himſelf and his whole people:" who, if they

they have a right to ſet up a king, ſeldom ſcruple to pull down a tyrant; and have been always obedient, while they had wealth; and only became rebellious when made poor by oppreſſions.

WHILE the Lancaſtrian Line copied this original, the nation flouriſhed, and the people ſupported their election againſt all oppoſition. But in the third generation, the advice of De la Pole, the king's favourite, to deliver up the dukedom of Anjou and the county of Maine bulwarks to Normandy, and which ought eſpecially then to be retained, in order to ſecure a free and uninterrupted navigation and commerce, and to conclude a laſting peace with France; laid the foundation of another revolution. A meaſure ſtrongly oppoſed by the good Duke of Glouceſter, and all true Engliſhmen: but their reaſons were of no effect, when the heavens had decreed that for this cauſe the duke ſhould loſe his life, the king his crown and dignity, the kingdom all its foreign poſſeſſions, and the people that peace at home they had hitherto enjoyed.

FROM this time the Duke of York entertained hopes of reſtoring the crown to his family; and the miniſtry, as is uſual under ſoft and vicious princes, deſigning to reign themſelves in the king's name, having pack'd a parliament to concur with them in the ruin of all opponents to their meaſures, favoured his fatal conſpiracy. A council out of favour with the

people; numerous loſſes and diſhonours abroad; a turbulent and unſettled condition of all things at home, were very incapable of traverſing his ſchemes. He took advantage of the preſumption of thoſe at the helm, who were unfit to rule; and of the diſcontents of the people, who ſinking under the tediouſneſs as well as weight of their burdens, and finding that by miſgovernment all things were running towards confuſion, as well at home as abroad, openly exclaimed againſt the favourite duke De la Pole, for being the only cauſe of the delivery of Anjou and Maine; the very occaſion of the loſs of Normandy, the devourer of the king's treaſure, the remover of good and virtuous counſellors from about the prince, and the advancer of vicious perſons, and of ſuch as were enemies to the public.

How effectually the people were revenged on this favourite, let hiſtory ſpeak: the populace ſeizing him on Dover road, ſtruck his head off in a cock-boat, and expoſed his body ignominiouſly on the ſhore. And though the Duke of York died in the attempt, this paved the way for his ſon, the Earl of Marche, to the throne; who with the general voice of the nation, by the name of Edward the Fourth, took the crown from the head of Henry the Sixth; that unhappy monarch, who ended his miſerable life by a dagger in the Tower of London.

This was the effect of weakneſs in a prince, who gave himſelf and his ſubjects up to the

councils of ambitious and ignorant miniſters. But the next revolution was brought about by uſurpation and tyranny. Richard the Third deprived his infant nephew both of his crown and life; an example which has caution'd poſterity never more to put it in the power of an uncle to play the ſame game: and his unparallel'd ſeverity and inſufferable taxes for reducing the people to paſſive obedience, ſo alienated their affections, that many of the prime nobility *fled* into France to the Earl of Richmond: and Richard grew ſo nauſeous to his ſubjects, that they were ready to vomit him out.

THIS criſis is not unworthy the moſt ſerious attention. Richmond landed with a very inconſiderable force: and if we conſider the little right he had to the crown by deſcent, it is probable many of the nobility, who joined him, would have been his enemies, had not their hatred to King Richard determined them to take his part. At the meeting of the two armies their ſeveral inclinations were ſoon diſcovered: the king's men advanced faintly to the attack, and ſome of them deſerted to the invader. So that in two hours time Richmond with five thouſand men only routed the king's forces, deprived him of his life in the field, and ſecured to himſelf the crown of England. Such is the weakneſs of a prince, who has forfeited the affections of his ſubjects!

THE Conqueror, recogniz'd by the ſtile of Henry VII. being aware that his good fortune

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was owing principally to his being the head of the party, which were diſguſted at the wickedneſs of King Richard; he not only took care to have his title to the crown aſcertained by an act of ſettlement, but he immediately entered upon ſuch meaſures, as tended moſt to confirm a good opinion of his government; as the only means to baffle all conſpiracies, which might be fomented againſt him.

SEVERAL pretenders were ſet up to threaten his crown: but nothing affected him ſo much as the taxes impoſed for the war, he impoliticly undertook in aid of the Bretaigns againſt France. Theſe ſubſidies, for the defence of a foreign nation, produced great diſturbances in the North, the counties of York and Durham poſitively refuſed the payment, alledging that they had ſuffered many grievances the laſt years paſt, and were not able to bear any more. It is true, he inſiſted upon all theſe taxes without abatement, and hang'd ſome of the ringleaders of the inſurrection: but to prevent the like murmurings for the future among the people, he procured an act of parliament, which, by giving all men liberty to ſell or mortgage their lands without fines for alienation, proved a great ſtep to the diminution of the eſtates and exorbitant power of the nobility, and threw the balance of power into the ſcale of the commonalty; whereby he became more certain of their aid, when aſked; and they were better able to pay their taxes in time of war.

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THIS policy contributed greatly to aſſuage the diſcontents of the people, occaſioned by the injuſtice and extortions of Empſon and Dudley: but theſe chief actors in his rapacious proceedings met with their deſerts in the beginning of his ſon's reign; who were beheaded to ſatisfy the importunate clamours of the ſubjects.

HARRY the Eighth improved upon the politics of his father; and to ſcreen himſelf from the hatred of the people, he raiſed up mean inſtruments of his power, by whom he plundered the nation, and then delivered them up a ſacrifice to their vengeance. Of theſe Woolſey and Cromwell are peculiar inſtances; Woolſey, from a poor boy, the ſon of a butcher, having by his own parts and dexterity recommended himſelf to the court, was raiſed by his ſovereign to the poſt of prime miniſter. In this capacity he had the ordering of all foreign treaties, and the diſpoſal of all places of truſt at home: he undertook to eaſe the king of the burden of government, and to give him all the pleaſure thereof: he was moſt earneſt to advance the king's own will and intention, and always perſuaded him to what was moſt agreeable to his appetite, following his inclinations exactly, even ſo far as to contrive means to ſupply him with money without the power of parliament. However, the king no ſooner found himſelf in danger of loſing the affections and confidence of his people, but he delivered him up to be tried for high

high treaſon; which broke the cardinal's heart.

CROMWELL, who had been Woolſey's ſervant, and the ſon of a blackſmith, found means to ingratiate himſelf with his ſovereign, and under the title of Vicar-General was employed by him in the ſuppreſſion of Popery and the diſſolution of religious houſes. Theſe proceedings created great diſguſts, which turned to open rebellion: but as Cromwell was charged with adviſing of them, the king made him a ſacrifice, in order to regain the affections of the people.

THUS if we review all the reigns from the conqueſt, it will be found that no king, who was ſo weak as to ſupport a bad miniſtry, ever eſcaped the reſentment of his ſubjects: and that all wiſe and politic princes have given up their evil counſellors to receive the juſt rewards of their demerits. P.

No. 46. SATURDAY, *June* 19, 1756.

Deterrima quæque impunè.

TACITUS.

To the FREEHOLDER.

SIR,

GREAT villainies were ſuffered to paſs with impunity is the remark of an hiſtorian, who was ſenſibly touched with the bane-

ful aſpect of his country's ruin; brought on, not by a foreign enemy, but by her own children; whoſe wicked deeds and infamous characters were no bars to their advancement in power; who only attended to the love of life and to the impulſes of ambition; who purſued poſts and dignities with the price of liberty, and who being grown above all ſhame, thought danger more dreadful than ſlavery.

A NATION, as powerful as ROME, could not long exiſt under ſuch internal maladies. No trade could be able to ſatisfy the continual ſupplies demanded by the ſtate for the maintenance of a large and uſeleſs army, and of an unactive fleet: no protection could be expected; no glory to itſelf, nor terror to its enemies; where a government was diſgraced with belly-gods, debauchees, gameſters and catamites: for what ſafety could be hoped for in a council compoſed of a ſet of men, called to the aſſiſtance of a ſinking ſtate, from luſcious banquets, bagnios, gaming-tables, or, perhaps, from ſome unnatural luſt. A ſenate retained by places, penſions and dignities in church and ſtate, has always deſerted the cauſe of liberty. And officers, who have raiſed great fortunes by a ſordid attachment and obſequiouſneſs to a corrupt miniſtry, are too often found ſo much in love with the enjoyments of the world, that they care not what ruin ſhall befal their country; if they can themſelves keep out of danger, and be

ſure

ſure of a powerful protector againſt the cries of an injured people.

IT has been the happineſs of Britain, above all other nations and ſtates, that neither wealth nor power have been able to protect the traitor, the coward, nor the evil counſellor. And ſhould it ever happen that bribery, or corruption, ambition or vice could gain the aſcendant over Britiſh councils, Britons have this advantage left above the Romans; *a power to remonſtrate againſt oppreſſive and ruinous meaſures, and a right to demand juſtice againſt the moſt powerful ſubject, who betrays his truſt or joins in evil councils:* ſo that, when the people have been driven to the neceſſity of exerting their authority, neither favour nor artifice; neither honours, dignity, nor a long poſſeſſion of the government were ever known to deliver the object of their reſentment from due reward. The good people of England pay well and hang well. They, like the generous lion, are not eaſily provoked: but when once rouzed; their voices make every heart tremble, conſcious of guilt.

YET I would not be underſtood to inſinuate, that we are the happy nation, which has never been endangered at home by oppreſſion, nor expoſed to the enemy abroad by corrupt or weak councils, or by cowardice, or colluſive meaſures. This would be contrary to the beſt authorities in our hiſtory. From whence I could inform you of rogues or villains in all ages and ſtations, whoſe names are perpetuated by their

puniſhments. The axe and the halter have ſpared neither the chief juſtice, nor the favourite, hedged in with royalty and the powers of the crown. And the execution of Kirby and Wade will be always mentioned to the praiſe of Queen Anne, who thereby ſhewed, as a good prince ought, a true regard for her ſubjects, in preference to all other conſiderations. As ſhe did not doubt but they, who had raiſed ſuch worthleſs commanders to the truſt they had betrayed, would intereſt themſelves to ſolicit their pardon, under falſe repreſentations, her Majeſty did not ſuffer them to ſet foot on Britiſh ground, before they had, with their lives, atoned for their cowardice in the ſervice of their Queen and country.

HAD a chief juſtice, in the days of Treſſilian, by the niceties of the law amaſs'd a ſum of four hundred thouſand pounds! would Treſſilian have been hang'd for his dirty work, and this vaſt fortune acquired by the ſon of an inferior tradeſman, paſſed without enquiry? the liberty of the ſubject never proſpered more, than at times, when the repreſentatives of the people made the extortions of public officers, and the illegal practices of their fellow-ſubjects the object of their deliberation and juſtice. If a public robber by the courſe of nature eſcapes the halter; his death can no wiſe preclude that juſtice upon his fortune, to which the public are intitled. And, Mr. Freeholder! I appeal to every gentleman of the long-robe, whether he can

ever

ever expect fairly to amaſs ſuch a ſum by his fees, or by the troubleſome office of an A——y G——l, or in the high ſtation of a L—C—J—?

HAD the miniſtry of king Charles I. prevailed with the parliament to grant ſeven or eight millions of money to enable the crown to protect our trade and colonies; to maintain our rights in America, againſt the encroachments of the French or Spaniards; to drive them from our ſettlements, and to deſtroy or to oblige their naval force to keep within their own ports; how would they have been dealt with, could it be ſuppoſed, that they would have diſtreſſed the trade and navigation of theſe kingdoms to the laſt degree, by preſſing all the ſailors and encouraging foreign ſhips to carry our goods: and that they would have fitted out a fleet of two hundred ſhips of war and upwards, and kept them at home, while the enemy continued their encroachments, invaded our property, and conquered our ſtrong holds: or had they in time of public danger from a foreign enemy adviſed the king to diſarm his Britiſh ſubjects, and call in an army of foreigners? could they have eſcaped with impunity from the cries of a people, who inſiſted to have the life of the Earl of Strafford, for adviſing his royal maſter to bring over a few Iriſh forces to curb the petulancy of a growing faction? Strafford was greatly culpable for this *unconſtitutional* meaſure: but I apprehend, it was not ſo much the army, as the ſervice, for which thoſe Iriſh forces were in-

tended, that gave the diſguſt. There was no enemy in the field, and therefore the ſubject became jealous of the intention of a ſtanding army in the hands of the crown. What would they have done; had they been firſt diſarmed and then obliged to pay and maintain an army of foreigners within their own bowels, who are of another religion; who are the ſubjects of arbitrary princes, and tied to us by no other motive than a pecuniary contract? whether ſuch a meaſure be conſtitutional or not, let the act of ſettlement decide; which intended ſuch a bar againſt foreign forces in Britain, that it particularly prohibits the employment even of foreign officers.

THE fate of the two cowards in the reign of the late Queen ought to deter all future officers from diſgracing their country with the like blemiſh in a naval capacity. And during that miniſtry, which regarded merit, and gave every villain his due, when diſcovered, Britain was never better ſerved by ſea and land: our armies threatned ruin to the Gallic name; and our fleets not only guarded our coaſts, but ruled ſovereign of the ocean. Had Matthews and Leſtock fallen under their diſpleaſure, they would have found it a difficult matter to ſkreen their private quarrel under the protection of a faction at court; and the nation would have ſaved the trivial expence of ſeventy thouſand pounds, if my intelligence be right, for the amuſement of a court martial, that acquitted the man

man who did not fight, and broke him that bore the heat of the battle. In thoſe days the officers, who were afraid to fight, who preferred their own ſafety to the ſecurity and honour of their country, could have no hopes of excuſe, no protection at court, no intereſt with the admiralty; much leſs of advancement to a flag, or to a ſeat in the navy office, or even to a penſionary reſidence in Greenwich-Hoſpital. Shall it be recorded? or can it be credited, that the brave and honeſt Vernon was diſmiſſed from the ſervice of his country; after he had enlarged her glory beyond all expectation by his valour and conduct, and whoſe name was become a terror to the enemies of Britain; and that any, who have either been ſhamefully acquitted or publickly condemned were ever promoted to a flag, and admitted like drones to live upon the property of a nation, which they had not the heart or the honeſty to defend? It is my humble opinion, ſhould it ever happen that an officer in the Britiſh navy could be found ſo criminal as to be broke for cowardice or miſconduct, he would be as dangerous and incapable in the eye of the legiſlature to be a commiſſioner, or a comptroller, or even a ſurveyor, or any other officer of honour, truſt, or profit under the crown, as to be continued in the command he had violated and forfeited. Is it not carrying the motto of this paper to the utmoſt extent? I think it would be out-ſtripping the degeneracy of Rome, not only letting the greateſt villainies paſs with im-

punity, but encouraging the worſt of villanies, to give to criminals the honours and profits, which ought to be reſerved for the reward of bravery and integrity.

BUT ſhould Britain ever groan under an adminiſtration, founded in corruption, and whoſe meaſures muſt be executed by bribery and minions: whoſe fears would ariſe more from the oppreſſions of the ſubject, than from the loſs of our trade and territories: and who, *ſhould it be* determined to exclude the brave, the virtuous and the honeſt from every poſt and place, that might diſcover or fruſtrate their ruinous intentions, and ſave their country; who could wonder to ſee them model the fleet, in the firſt place, according to their own minds? who would not bewail a numerous fleet of the talleſt, ſtouteſt and beſt mann'd ſhips in the whole world, commanded and managed by creatures of the miniſtry; ignorant of their duty; imperious and cruel to the ſeamen; and afraid of nothing but to face the common enemy in their country's cauſe? or who could bear to hear, that thoſe caſtles built to carry fire into the bowels of our enemies, were turned into drawing-rooms, and places of entertainment for women, and of carouzing and revelling for cowards and debauchées, while the enemy with impunity depopulated our plantations with fire and ſword; bid defiance to the puſillanimity of a weak miniſtry, and deſpiſed the fleet commanded by men, who deſerted the poſt of honour,

and left the enemy to diſtreſs their country in the moſt eſſential parts, &c. O.

No. 47. SATURDAY, *June* 26, 1756.

If Men will take the ſame Meaſures, they may eaſily bring their Hogs to ſuch another Market. Engliſh Memorial, p. 2.

To the MONITOR.

SIR,

THOUGH in my laſt, the raiſing of mean inſtruments to execute his ſchemes was mentioned as a maſter-piece in the politicks of Harry the Eighth; becauſe by their blood he quenched the fire of diſcontent, that might otherwiſe have endangered his crown; yet I was far from commending the principle of ſuch a government. The prince, who raiſes mean, weak, or bad men, to contrive meaſures, or aſſiſt, or direct in the execution of ſchemes, which break in upon the national conſtitution, or to rob the people, either of their liberty, or money; will at ſome time have reaſon to repent thereof. The appearance of juſtice in the ſacrifice of the miniſterial victim may ſkreen a reigning prince for a while; and the power uſurped by evil council may frighten the oppreſſed into a ſlaviſh ſubmiſſion to the yoke impoſed;

impoſed; but when a free people are once convinced by a long continuance of their grievances, that there has been only a change of men, and not of meaſures; and that no admiſſion can be found to the ear of majeſty by a true lover of his country, who has the honeſty to oppoſe all uſurpations upon the rights of the people, and to diſſuade the ſovereign from ſuch meaſures, as tend to the impoveriſhing of his ſubjects, or to the forfeiting of their good affections; their intereſt and paſſions fix their reſentment at laſt upon the real cauſe of their complaint: and when it has ſeemed out of the power of man to prevent their total deſtruction, Providence has confounded the devices by the very means tyrants attempted to ſecure their own arbitrary power.

WHAT could be done more than the act of parliament for ſecuring the ſucceſſion and the ſettlement of the regency and council by this ſame king, during the minority of his ſon and ſucceſſor? or, was there ever a more promiſing prince than Edward? but Harry being called to the bar of the King of Kings for his impieties, cruelties, rapaciouſneſs, and luſt; all endeavours to enſlave his ſubjects were providentially fruſtrated; and the principal inſtruments appointed to finiſh the work, which he had greatly advanced, were ſoon cut off.

THE executors of the king's will preſently diſagreed about power: this firſt produced the diſgrace of the Lord Chancellor, and afterwards took

took off the heads of both the young king's uncles, who having got poſſeſſion of the royal perſon and the navy, did each of them contend for abſolute power.

Theſe diſſentions in the council, though they put a ſtop to the progreſs of the arbitrary government, planned out and begun in the late reign, were attended with great loſs to the nation. When the council of a prince is diſtracted by the ambitious views of its members, ſtriving for power and lucrative employments, or enervated by their weakneſs, or corruption, the nation will always ſuffer and become a prey to her enemies.

The factious and deſperate overſpread the land with rage, violence, and rapine: and the French, ever ready to take advantage of commotions, and the puſillanimity and wickedneſs of divided councils, laid ſiege to Boloign; and carried that advantageous fort by an inglorious capitulation; the emperor and every other ſtate refuſing to hazard their own welfare by aiding a miniſtry, whoſe chief views and abilities centered in a kind of court-craft, to engroſs power and to oppreſs the ſubjects; and who gave no ſpecimen of their knowledge of the true intereſt of their country, in regard to foreign affairs. However, they were not ſo abandoned as to permit the Protector to paſs unpuniſhed for entertaining *foreign troops*: a meaſure, even in thoſe days ſo generally diſtaſteful, that it was made one of the articles of his impeachment, though he had got the conſent of the council for

was engaged in violent means to introduce arbitrary power.

SOME of the mal-contents were bold enough to accuſe the Queen of having forfeited her right to the crown, by bringing in ſtrangers to govern the nation. And by her impoliticly joining with Spain againſt France, through the perſuaſions of her conſort Philip, the Queen was reduced to great ſtraits for money; and added ſo much to the diſcontents of her ſubjects, that her council, dreading to be called to an account, permitted Calais to be expoſed to the French arms, rather than ſummon a parliament to aſk the neceſſary ſupplies for its defence. Thus, notwithſtanding the council continually received advices of the ill condition of the garriſons of Calais, and the adjacent places, and that the French had an abſolute deſign upon them, there was no reaſonable care taken to prevent their falling into the enemy's hands: but this ſtrong and important place, accounted the key and curb of France, the only remains of the conqueſts of King Edward III. was loſt, after it had been held above two hundred and ten years. Such are the misfortunes of a nation, whoſe government is truſted to men, who are afraid to be called to an account for their meaſures! however, this miniſtry could not have been called to an account for ſquandering away immenſe ſums of the public money in ſubſidiary treaties, and naval preparations able to ſtrike terror into

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all the world, which remained idle ſpectators of this loſs.

THE Queen, without conſidering the incapacity of her miniſtry, reſolved to make an attempt upon Breſt, to atone for the loſs of Calais: but it proved an inglorious and expenſive expedition. The Engliſh had loſt their hearts and bravery, and began to believe, that heaven was againſt them: and their direful apprehenſions were increaſed by a raging plague, and other extraordinary calamities throughout the nation; which melancholy ſymptoms contributed to increaſe the people's averſion to the government. And the houſe of commons, notwithſtanding the Queen's meſſage, repreſenting the feeble condition of the nation, and the neceſſity of putting it into a poſture of defence; back'd by a committee ſent from the houſe of lords, deſiring them to grant a ſubſidy to defend the nation againſt the French and Scots; were ſo diſguſted at the general conduct of affairs, that they could not be brought to any reſolution thereon: and ſhe died as little lamented, as any one that has ever worn the Britiſh crown. P.

O yes! O yes! O yes!

WHEREAS two ADMIRABLES with a ſtrong ſquadron of men of war, belonging to a certain European potentate, have lately diſappeared, and to the great ſurprize of all the *good*

people of this nation, have not yet been heard of;

WHOEVER can give any *ſatisfactory* intelligence concerning them, and will apply to the ſign of the ANCHOR and HOPE near *Charing-Croſs*, ſhall be rewarded with the Brains of a SEA LION, a Joul of NEWCASTLE Salmon, and a FOX's Bruſh.

No. 48. SATURDAY, *July* 3, 1756.

——— *Stat nullâ diu mortalibus uſquam,*
Fortunâ titubante, fides.
SILIUS ITALICUS, Lib. II. Bel. Pun.

To the FREEHOLDER.

SIR,

THE obligation of treaties, which are confirmed between princes and ſtates in the moſt ſolemn and religious manner, is generally looked upon by the little world to be indiſpenſible; and the only ſecurity for maintaining good harmony amongſt particulars, and the peace of the world in general.

TREATIES are or ought to be made for the ſupport of the weaker againſt the ſtronger; to uphold their mutual intereſts and claims; and to obviate and oppoſe all encroachments on dominion, commerce, or power. Whichever of the contracting parties are guilty of a breach of faith,

faith, under theſe compacts or agreements, not only incur the reproach of all mankind, but provoke the indignation of that ſupreme power, whoſe name is thereby violated. Yet nothing is more common, than to hear of princes and ſtates, who regard no treaties longer than it ſuits their particular intereſts, and are ready to join againſt that very power, which has reduced its own ſtrength, and almoſt diſabled itſelf by fighting their battles, maintaining their rights and property, and covering their frontiers.

THEY, who have endeavoured to penetrate into the real motives, upon which ſo much perfidy is openly avowed, are of opinion that it is owing to a defect in the political ſyſtem of thoſe, who make alliances with potentates, that are drawn not ſo much with regard to the general good, as in order to ſecure and eſtabliſh a particular intereſt: theſe allies never intend to riſque any thing in the defence of a ſinking ſtate, though under the moſt ſolemn promiſes of a treaty, and the greateſt obligations of friendſhip and aid; whenever they find that there is wanting either power or ſpirit to oblige them to fidelity.

WE need not ſearch the ancient pages referred to by the poet in the front of this paper, for deteſtible examples of this perfidious conduct in princes. Let us only recollect the conſequence of our engagements with the Houſe of Auſtria: and the preſent conſcientious performance of her covenant with Great Britain, muſt convince us

that our forefathers were highly miſtaken in their dependance on the Auſtrian intereſt againſt the power of France, when *Britiſh property* is ONLY concerned.

WAS it our own, or the quarrel of the preſent Empreſs's father, that engaged Britain in that long and expenſive war with the Duke of Anjou, his competitor for the crown of Spain? what did we get beſide the interruption of our trade both in Europe and the Weſt Indies, by the expedition on the coaſt of Sicily, in conſequence of a treaty with the Emperor? did not the late war on the continent proceed from the ſame engagements? are not the hereditary dominions of the Empreſs Queen of as little concern to us, as our colonies are to her? did not ſhe, when attacked by France and Pruſſia inſiſt upon our aid, in conſequence of the very treaty now ſubſiſting between the two crowns? did Britain endeavour to evade the faith of the treaty on account of the diſtance of Sileſia, Bohemia, or of any other territories ſubject to her dominion? did our king deſert his ally and enter into engagements with the enemy to deprive her of other auxiliaries? or, did he not, in a manner, drop the vigorous purſuit of juſtice for the Spaniſh depredations on his own merchants, and riſque his own crown to defend her in the poſſeſſion of her natural right, wherever ſituated; at the expence of an immenſe ſum, which his Britiſh ſubjects are ſtill bound to pay? and ſhall it be a ſufficient excuſe, when the ſame

enemy attempts to ruin our trade by ſtopping its reſources, and ſeizing upon our dominions in America; taking our ſhips wherever he meets them; beſieging our fortreſſes, inſulting our flag, and threatning Britain itſelf with an invaſion; for the Empreſs Queen to ſay, That ſhe careth for none of theſe things? that as the diſpute began in America, ſhe is not concerned in the conſequences; and that ſhe neither by treaty nor gratitude is obliged to give any aid to Great Britain; but is at liberty to enter into ſuch an agreement with France, as may alſo deter her German neighbours for hiring their troops into Britiſh ſervice?

SHOULD this be true! could it ever appear that Auſtria would join with France againſt Britain; or remain an idle ſpectator of its ruin! what would become of the miniſterial argument for maintaining a balance of power on the continent? in purſuit of which the gold and blood of this iſland have been profuſely ſpent in battles, armies, and ſubſidies, for upwards of ſixty years. And ſhould the preſent miniſtry want ſpirit to reſent ſuch a meaſure in the court of Vienna; it would be difficult to acquit them of puſillanimity, or to reproach her with calumny, ſhould the Empreſs Queen caſt the blame upon the weakneſs, inſtability, raſhneſs and corruption of the Britiſh councils. The ſuperiority of the French in America; the ſiege of Mahon, and their powerful armaments by ſea and land, to ruin our trade and to invade our

property, would have ſpirited up any ally, but a Popiſh princeſs, whoſe principles teach her to *keep no faith with hereticks*, longer than it ſuits her intereſt: and to miſs no opportunity to promote her own ſuperſtition, by joining in the oppreſſion of a Proteſtant power.

BUT it is ſaid the Dutch, who are no Papiſts, have found an evaſion to colour the breach of their faith alſo. As for their religion, it is beſt known at Japan, where they deny the *name* of Chriſt: and were they Turks or Heathens, neither the alcoran, nor the law of nature would countenance their behaviour to the Engliſh; to whom they owe their very exiſtence and preſervation. Was it not our Elizabeth that aſſiſted them againſt the Spaniards with forty thouſand foot and horſe, and an army of fifteen thouſand Palatines, hired with Engliſh money? did not ſhe permit them to fiſh in the Britiſh ſeas, encouraged their manufactures, and protected their navigation? did not ſhe expend two millions of money in their defence: and loſt at leaſt one hundred thouſand men in their ſervice? did not King James I. prevail with the King of Spain to declare them *Free States?* did not the ſame King and the Eaſt India Company, in his reign, enter into a league with the Hollanders for their advancement in the India trade? ſuch marks of kindneſs! ſuch ample demonſtrations of favour, as no people could have greater obligations (if any principles of honour or juſtice could oblige them) to make return of gratitude, and give tokens

kens of their ſincere friendſhip to Great Britain! but, *monſtrum horrendum!* in leſs than two years, the Dutch concerted meaſures to deſtroy the Engliſh Eaſt India trade, and did inhumanly murder the company's factors at Amboyna: ſeized upon all the iſlands and plantations under the Engliſh government in America: and, at laſt, uſurping the ſovereignty of the ſeas in Europe, attempted to give laws to the king of England in his own dominions. And in thoſe days they laid it down for a maxim of their policy, never to keep their word and faith longer than it was ſubſervient to their intereſt: what ſincerity can we expect from them, when, by deſerting their natural friends and allies, they can run away with their trade, and enjoy a free navigation with their enemies?

YET theſe are the two powers, which have gained ſo much influence in the Britiſh councils for ſixty years paſt, as to perſuade them that their preſervation was the ſafety of Britain; and to put them upon meaſures for defending their territories, which, if not changed, might ſhortly exhauſt our trade, ruin our credit, and eat out our liberty!

THUS France, by the perfidy of our allies, has effected, what Britain has ſtrove, at the expence of near two hundred millions of money, and half a million of men to prevent! I have heard it aſked by one pleading in parliament in favour of a continent war; What can we expect if the Queen of Hnngary by our ſlight of her,

be forced into the arms of France? and if the Emperor and Dutch be brought under a ſort of dependance to the Gallic power? would not our trade be deſtroyed? to prevent ſuch an incident, the Auſtrians and Dutch have always been ſupplied by us with every thing they wanted to guard them from the common enemy. And yet theſe very allies, no ſooner perceive that our valueable poſſeſſions in the Mediterranean and in America are in danger, and thereby our trade muſt be interrupted, or perhaps deſtroyed; but they make their court to the enemy, and deny that aſſiſtance, which by treaty and gratitude we ONLY have a right to demand and expect.

SHOULD ſuch ingratitude and contempt of our friendſhip be ſuffered to paſs unnoticed, would it not create a ſuſpicion that the arguments made uſe of by our *balance-maſters*, from year to year, in parliament, were only to colour over ſome unconſtitutional meaſure; or to gull the people out of their money to buy a p——t, to maintain a ſtanding army of mercenaries and foreigners, which might be ready at the command of a bad miniſtry, to give the finiſhing ſtroke to our liberties? a reflection, which every good Briton heartily wiſhes may be wiped off under the preſent miniſtry, by rejecting all future applications in favour of a continent war, and by ſeizing upon whatever property, by ſea and land, we are able, belonging to the Auſtrians and Dutch, till they religiouſly comply with the

the obligations of treaties, by which they themſelves have been preſerved from ruin; or till they repay us the immenſe ſums expended in their defence.

"THE aſſiſtance denied to Britain at this "juncture, by Holland and Auſtria, is what we "have a right to demand, by every claim which "the laws of ſociety can enact, or the dictates "of nature can ſuggeſt, by treaties maturely "conſidered and ſolemnly confirmed by the "ties of ancient friendſhip, and the obligations "of common intereſt," as the people of England have been always told when urged to part with money in their cauſe. "To violate the public "faith, and even to neglect the obſervation of "treaties, is to ſink below barbarity, and to de-"ſtroy that confidence which unites mankind "in ſociety. To deny, or evade ſtipulations is "to commit a crime, which every honeſt mind "muſt conſider with abhorrence. To forſake "an ancient ally only becauſe we can receive "no immediate advantage from his friendſhip, "or becauſe it may be, in ſome degree, dan-"gerous to adhere to him? to forſake him, "when he moſt wants our good offices, when "he is diſtreſſed by his enemies, and deſerted "by others from whom he had reaſon to hope "for kinder treatment, is the moſt deſpicable, "the moſt hateful degree of cowardice and "treachery."— This we find delivered, in the parliamentary debates, in the name of Mr. Fox, on a motion made in the year 1741, for effectu-

ally aſſiſting this very Queen againſt France and Pruſſia.

THEREFORE it muſt be very happy for the nation to be at this time under the direction of counſellors, who entertain ſo juſt notions of national faith. The ſame zeal, which animated them to wave all dangers, in a bloody, tedious and expenſive war, and to prefer the ſecurity of our allies, in a declining ſtate, to peace, plenty and riches, cannot fail of reſenting their cowardice and treachery; which at once would make us a terror to our enemies, reduce our ſhifting allies to right reaſon, and, by convincing us, that Great Britain is not to be the dupe of an uncertain and perfidious German alliance, it would unite the hearts and open the purſes of his Majeſty's moſt faithful ſubjects, to defend his perſon, and to revenge the indignities offered to his poſſeſſions, crown, and dignity.

Z.

To the MONITOR.

SIR,

IN the year 1718, Capt. WALTON being ordered by Sir GEORGE BYNG, who had beaten the Spaniſh fleet off Palermo in Sicily, to purſue, &c. the flying enemy, punctually obeyed his order, *without calling a council of war*, and next day, like an HONEST TAR, ſent the following *ſatisfactory* letter to his admiral.

SIR,

SIR,

I Have taken and burnt, as per margin, going for Syracuſa, *and am, Sir,*

Your obedient Servant,

G. WALTON.

IF one hundred years hence, a ſiege ſhould be laid by the Spaniards to Port Mahon, and the miniſtry then ſhould fit out a ſtrong ſquadron of men of war, and give the command to a woman, to an *androgene*, or to any creature of the *epicene* gender, might they not expect ſuch an account as the following, to be ſent to the ſecretary of the Admiralty.

SIR,

I Have the pleaſure to deſire you will acquaint their Lordſhips, that having loitered away as much time as I poſſibly could, I at laſt came in ſight of the enemy, to whom I was ſuperior both in ſhips and guns. As they ran away, though we had the weather-gage, I did not think it convenient either to follow them, or relieve the place with the ſupplies I had on board. I am making the beſt of my way towards Gibraltar, *under the cannon whereof I ſoon hope to be ſafe, becauſe the enemy, who ſails three miles to our one, may overtake me; but could not forbear ſending the firſt account of an event of ſuch conſequence.*

P. S.

P. S. *I have ſent you an account both of my own and the enemy's killed and wounded; by which you will ſee,* it was a moſt bloody engagement, *eſpecially on board* my own *flag, where there was not one killed, nor wounded.*

No. 49. SATURDAY, *July* 10, 1756.

Sed, ſi te laus allicere ad rectè faciendum non poteſt; ne metus quidam à fædiſſimis factis poteſt avocare? judicia non metuis: ſi propter innocentiam, laudo: ſi propter vim; non intelligis, ei, qui iſto modo judicia non timeat, quid timendum ſit?

Cic. Phil. II.

To the MONITOR.

SIR,

AT a late public entertainment in the city, where were convened perſons of various ranks, intereſts, principles, and deſigns, the converſation rolled upon the ſituation of Minorca, which ſeems to reſemble that of Damocles, with a ſword over his head, pointed downwards, and ſuſpended by a hair.

AFTER ſeveral of the aſſembly had fired off their ſquibs, the diſcourſe ſeemed to be ſeriouſly taken up by Sir Andrew Plauſible, a lawyer and courtier, and Sir Oliver Freeman, citizen and Turkey merchant. Sir Oliver being

ing exaſperated at the action in the Mediterranean (which by the admiral's own letter, one would really think was a mock-fight; above half the ſhips not having a man killed or wounded; and his own among the reſt happily eſcaping) took occaſion to go into many particulars relative to that affair; and opened his mind with a liberty of ſpeech, and bitterneſs of reflection, which, if not guarded in every particular, a love of his country might well excuſe. He mourn'd the hard fate of a weak, but brave garriſon, whoſe ſpirits, upon the haſty retreat of Byng, muſt unavoidably ſink; and who, he was afraid, would conſider themſelves, as doomed a ſacrifice to the mercy of an enraged enemy. He hinted likewiſe the ruinous conſequences of the loſs of Minorca; and having a great ſtake up the Levant, his own intereſt might probably give an edge to his cenſures. He made many girding remarks upon the meaſures of a certain *ſtate pilot*, whom he conſidered as principal in conducting the war; and declared, for his part, that if things were carried on for the future under the ſame direction, and upon the ſame ſyſtem, as for ſome years paſt, it was his firm opinion, we ſhould not be much longer a nation: that inſtead of being lords of the ſeas, and carrying our thunder through all parts of the world, we ſhould be forced to ſkulk, and glad to defend ourſelves in our own ports; and the name of Old England would be no more in remembrance: that the queſtion now ſeemed to

be;

be; Whether we ſhould become a province to France, or a great and independent people: that ſuch a criſis, he thought, called for the ableſt heads and worthieſt hearts; and that our fate ought not to depend upon a *ſingle* m——r, who in a long courſe of adminiſtration had given no proof of his ability, unleſs in corrupting the people, and loading the nation with an immenſe and ſtill growing debt.

DURING this harangue Sir Andrew gave many ſignals of a diſturbed mind: he bit his lips; his teeth were heard to gnaſh, his eye-balls glared with reſentment, and, at the firſt pauſe, he took Sir Oliver up ſhort: Sir, ſays he, with a tone ſomewhat elevated, it is a much eaſier taſk to find fault than to mend the meaſures that have been concerted and purſued; that for his part, he had a very good opinion of the preſent miniſter, and of thoſe who acted under him, and knew not where he could change him for a better: that it was cruelty to ſuſpect his integrity without overt-acts to ſupport it; that in the progreſs of a war with ſo powerful and artful an enemy, diſaſters and diſappointments muſt be expected; and he doubted not, but they would fall on their ſide, as well as ours. Not that he would juſtify the behaviour of our fleet. Nevertheleſs, he thought it raſh and premature to judge of the event of a game, from two or three cards being ill played at firſt: that the war might proſper very well upon the whole, notwithſtanding our preſent ill ſucceſs; and

and that he doubted not but the miniſter would be able to defend his meaſures in the eyes of equal judges, and would be in no pain, were he called to account; that he was ſenſible how ſanguine the expectations of Britons were, from the prejudice of a ſuppoſed ſuperiority in our naval ſtrength; and though he thought that preſumption ought not to be diſcouraged, yet, in truth, he could ſee no ground for it, when we are weighed againſt a nation, that has more men and more money; that if any overſights had been committed; it was but common candour to place them to the ſcore of humanity, from which our cenſurers themſelves will not pretend to be exempt: that for his part, he felt the wounds of his country, as ſenſibly as thoſe who invidiouſly account for the cauſes of them, and would do all in his power to cure or prevent them for the future.

WELL, replies Sir Oliver; I find you have not your name for nothing; but this declamatory way proves or diſproves juſt nothing. We muſt come to facts; and if you can clear theſe to ſatisfaction, you do ſomething. Pray Sir, had not our miniſter early and repeated notice of the vaſt preparations at Toulon, as well as in the other ports of France? that the enemy was equipping with all poſſible diſpatch every ſhip of war, that would bear the ſeas; that tranſports without number ſwarmed in their harbours: and that the maritime parts of the kingdom were crouded with their armies; ready

ready to ſouſe down upon us, like an eagle here or there? theſe things, Sir Oliver, I grant were notorious; and did not the miniſtry proceed accordingly? did they not tranſport *foreign troops* to add to our national ones, which could not be ſufficiently augmented in time? O, Sir Andrew! I confeſs they did; a fetch of policy quite modern! ſuch as will aſtoniſh, if departed ſpirits have any knowledge of what paſſes here, the ghoſts of Elizabeth, Cecil, Walſingham, and other political genius's of Old *England*: how would they bluſh to ſee themſelves rivalled and outdone? Well, Sir Oliver, I am glad you approve of this meaſure, and rejoice that the miniſter has hit your taſte in one thing at leaſt.

HOLD, good Sir, do not miſtake me: do not ſtretch my meaning too wide: I do allow the expedient might be prudent in the preſent conjuncture of things; but it puts me in mind of a poor man, who having a ſore leg, unfortunately put himſelf into the hands of a bungling or knaviſh ſurgeon; he attended him a conſiderable time, but by miſmanagement and miſapplication, a gangrene at length began: this alarmed; a conſultation of ſurgeons was held, and enquiring what had been done, out of tenderneſs to the profeſſion, they ſhook their heads, but ſaid nothing; however, they all agreed, immediately to cut off the limb; which was the only chance the man had for life: was amputation right, or was it not? O, Sir Oliver, the queſtion anſwers itſelf: but how, or where do you

you point it? who is this bungling or knaviſh ſurgeon? let me anſwer you, Sir Andrew, by aſking another queſtion: Pray whoſe patient has this nation been for above thirty years paſt? entirely ſo for the laſt twelve? and he was ſecond ſurgeon for twenty years before: and has not his quackery and mal-practices gradually brought on our preſent deplorable condition? did not the few patriots and real lovers of their country, who had the courage to ſpeak freely, foretel the diſtreſſes, we begin already to feel; whenever we ſhould chance to be embroiled with the preſent enemy? did they not inſiſt that we ſhould want every ſhilling purloined by thoſe in office, and whoſe devotion in a certain houſe ſkreened them from a legal inquiry? did they not inveigh againſt uſeleſs penſions; againſt ſquandering the public money in bribery at elections, and other ſcandalous ways? and ſquandered; for what? to prop up a certain perſon at the head of affairs, who could not poſſibly have ſtood upon the baſis of his own merits?

THE times are critical, Sir Andrew; and I will ſpeak out. I ſay the few friends of this nation foretold the ſad ſituation, into which ſuch a ſyſtem of adminiſtration muſt unavoidably throw us; and is not their prophecy now fulfilling with a vengeance? is not, muſt not the nation be more and more diſtreſſed for money to carry on the war? does it not wear a moſt ſickly aſpect! and has it not many mortal ſymptoms attending it? one limb, if not lopt off already,

already, is in a deſperate way; and will not the ſame practices endanger others? and what a pitiful figure muſt the trunk make, when its legs and hands are all gone? will not the mortification then ſeize that? and would you ſtill employ the ſurgeon, whoſe ignorance or diſhoneſty has brought the matter to this paſs? the malady, Sir, has touched our very viſcera; and we want the ableſt practitioner to reſtore us to health? this is the opinion, Sir Andrew, of every ſenſible and unprejudiced man, I converſe with, in reſpect of what is paſt, and preſent; and what the future muſt be, is eaſy to gueſs: the nation has been abuſed, impoveriſhed and effeminated, to the laſt degree; impoveriſhed, even in times of a long peace; when it might have gathered ſtrength and ability for any new war, that might have happened; whether in defence of ourſelves, or ſupport of our allies; and had it not the beſt conſtitution in the world, we had been a dead nation many years ago; and whenever a few honeſt Britons have had the courage to proclaim ſuch bold truths; inſtead of ſpeaking particularly and directly to the points in queſtion, they have been anſwered; "you "are ſaucy, diſaffected, Jacobites: you want "to diſtreſs men in power to get their places, "or mean to ſubvert the preſent happy eſta-"bliſhment:" this has been the ſtanding cant of our great man, and his minions for a courſe of years; and when pinched with any particular inſtance of blundering or iniquity; the an-

ſwer is ſuch, as at once overwhelms all objections; "never were better times; never abler "or honeſter ſtateſmen."

BUT we are getting wide of our mark: Minorca was the point: and do you ſeriouſly think, that buſineſs has been planned with the dexterity and depth of an able ſtateſman: even abſtracted from the cowardice of the fleet; which a wiſe man, perhaps, could not eaſily have foreſeen? why not, Sir Oliver? I hope you do not judge like the vulgar, of the goodneſs of a meaſure by the ſucceſs of it? do you not grant, that events are depoſited in a higher hand? it is ours to project; it is heaven's to give, or deny ſucceſs. I yield that, Sir Andrew; but is it not ours likewiſe to be prudent and honeſt? — and do you think there are no prudent and honeſt men in the adminiſtration? I don't ſay that, Sir Andrew? but I do ſay, what the great orator and patriot of Athens ſaid upon a ſimilar occaſion: "When "I compare, O Athenians, the ſpeeches of "ſome amongſt us with their actions, I am at "a loſs to reconcile what I ſee with what I "hear; your proteſtations are full of zeal a-"gainſt the public enemy, but the meaſures "are ſo inconſiſtent, that all your profeſſions "become ſuſpected."

TO apply this to the ſubject we are upon: let me aſk you, I am ſure the nation will aſk ſuch queſtions: were not the armaments at Toulon known many months before the attack

upon Minorca? What then? could any body tell where they were pointed? Not abſolutely, Sir Andrew: but was there any object for them in thoſe parts beſides Minorca or Gibraltar? why, No: it looks very probable then ſurely, that one of theſe places muſt be the object; and ought not each then to have had a ſtrong garriſon? had that been the caſe, we may gueſs from the noble defence of a weak one, under a brave governor, what might have been expected; ſuppoſing the French had made a deſcent upon the iſland: but I have too good an opinion of their politics, to believe, they would have attempted it; they are not uſed to engage in ſuch romantic enterprizes.

WELL! but ſuppoſe them knights-errant for once, and the deſcent made; could not a ſtrong garriſon have held out till the news had reached England and relief had been ſent? two or three light frigates in Mahon harbour, would ſurely have anſwered this purpoſe; one might ſoon have carried the news to the Spaniſh continent; and it would have travelled with certainty by land in a given time; another frigate or two might have been diſpatched by ſea: ſo that there could be no danger of wanting intelligence; and when it was received, had we not a fleet to ſpare, and ready at an hour's warning, ſuperior to any the enemy had in their Mediterranean ports? the arrival of ſuch a fleet muſt infallibly have raiſed the ſiege, and ſaved the iſland: Ay, Sir Andrew! it is eaſy to be wiſe after

after events; but this after-wiſdom is no great complement to a man's head-piece.

WELL, Sir Andrew; let us view it then in another light, according to the plan, in fact formed. Our miniſtry, at laſt, have ſent a fleet, and forces with it to ſtrengthen the garriſon: but I aſk, why was not the fleet ſent ſooner? was it ready, or was it not? if ready, why kept back? if not ready, whoſe fault was that? but you cannot ſay, a fleet was not ready; when ſo many men of war had lain for months idle in our harbours, equipped and full mann'd. But ſuppoſe, Sir Oliver, a fleet and forces could not be ſpared ſooner, conſiſtently with our home ſecurity? would you have hazarded a thouſand pounds to ſave a ſhilling?

O! Sir Andrew, that refinement won't do: a fleet might have been ſpared, and ſhips enough left behind for the protection of this iſland: tell me, I beſeech you, was not the enemy's nearer fleet blocked up in Breſt harbour; and had he any other at hand to face us in the channel? well! a fleet was at length ſent; but what ſort of fleet, it may be aſked? Why, one nearly equal to the French: Was that good policy, when we had it in our power to ſend a ſtronger than any they could have brought from Toulon? does not that look as if there was ſome flaw at the bottom of our councils? or elſe, that the m——y conſidered Minorca as a trifling thing, and had a mind to turn up heads or tails for it? pray, Sir Andrew; ſuppoſe Minorca, under a colour of defending it,

was meant to be given up? far be it from me to charge the m——y with ſo black a piece of iniquity! but ſuppoſing the thing, for debates ſake, muſt not the plan have been ſomewhat ſimilar to the preſent? beſides, what ſort of commanders too were ſelected for this important expedition? ſome of them, I doubt not, behaved well; but were they in general tried men; tried in the laſt war; and was the A——l of known bravery and conduct? in my humble opinion (whatever his heart may be) *his* letter ſmells not ſtrong of the brain.

I CAN aſſure you, Sir Oliver; they were perſons in general well thought of; and if any of them have diſgraced the ſervice; they muſt anſwer for it themſelves. O, Sir Andrew, that's mere evaſion; it probes not the wound to the bottom: our ſeamen, like our cocks, were formerly all game. Whence this dunghill blood? it muſt be owing to ſome modern cauſe. Pray tell me what it is? Sir Andrew pauſed: — Well, Sir, I find you do not care to ſpeak out; let me then aſk this further queſtion: pray, who has modelled our fleets for many years, and by what rule diſpoſed of its preferments? Sir Andrew ſtill pauſed: pray, are there no captains, who gallantly diſtinguiſhed themſelves in the laſt war now unemployed; no old ſubalterns languiſhing in the humble poſts of lieutenants, who gave proof of their bravery in the laſt war, and yet deſpair of ever riſing to a command? why ſo? Sir Oliver! why? becauſe they have no p—l—y

connections; have nothing but their perſonal merit to recommend them: you muſt needs have heard, Sir Andrew, how the French captains are reported to have addreſſed their crews in the laſt war, when they ſpied any of our great ſhips; "Chear, my good boys; you are "in no danger, the ſhips look formidable in-"deed, but they have p—l—y captains; very "worthy peaceable men, who will do you little "harm; poſſibly they may make a flouriſh and "give you a broadſide or two at a diſtance; "but they have dropt their old way of not "firing till they ſee the whites of your "eyes." Were there not many examples to countenance this ſarcaſm? nay, did not Glaſſionniere uſe the like degrading ſtile, in his letter to the French miniſtry? "I expected, the Engliſh "would have given us more trouble." — Unhappy Albion! *quantum O mutatus!* — O how greatly art thou changed? and whence that change? from an utter neglect of all public virtue: a neglect in thoſe, whoſe duty, and in whoſe power alone it is, to encourage and reward it: *hinc lacrymæ rerum!* this ſolves the degeneracy of our fleets, and muſt in the end undo the nation.

SIR OLIVER, I would not willingly break the decorums of converſation; but I can't help telling you, you take too much upon you; you indulge ſuſpicion and invective beyond all bounds of decency; one would imagine you were of the cabinet, and knew every ſpring and reaſon of the adminiſtration.—No, Sir Philip;—

I aſk pardon, Sir Andrew, I mean, I pretend to nothing but a little common ſenſe; and poſſibly that may be a ſurer guide, than your ſuperior penetration: you have lived long in the ſunſhine; have from nothing raiſed a princely fortune, and by favour of the miniſter have fixed your children in fine ſituations, and probably expect further advancements of them; though you can't well riſe higher yourſelf. This naturally inſpires partiality, and you may poſſibly view his abilities and conduct through falſe optics. All I go upon are plain facts: theſe are knotty things, and muſt ſtagger even Machiavel himſelf. I am no mathematician, Sir Andrew; but if Sir Iſaac Newton was alive and told me, that two and three don't make five, I would ſpit in his face; and *ſhall the politician* be treated better than the geometer, if he makes inſults upon the common underſtandings of men? the application, Sir Andrew, I leave to the company, and aſk pardon for taking ſo much of your time, which might have been ſpent in more chearful and companionable chat. D.

I am,

Mr. MONITOR,

Your very humble Servant,

WILLIAM WEAVER.

No. 50.

No. 50. SATURDAY, *July* 17, 1756.

Subruit æmulos
Reges muneribus. HOR.

To the MONITOR.

SIR,

I AM but a young politician; I mean young in the art of thoſe Machiavilians, who have brought their country into circumſtances, which, without the ſingular intervention of that marvellous Providence always preſiding over the Britiſh nation, threaten ſome ſudden diſhonour and ruin. But according to the ſyſtem grounded upon common ſenſe and impartial obſervation, I cannot help bewailing the common diſtreſs, which gathers round this iſland from every quarter. Perhaps a word of admonition in ſuch a critical juncture may not be unſeaſonable, nor unacceptable to a m——y, who have been truſted with near eight millions of money for the preſent ſervice; but ſeem at a loſs how to apply that immenſe ſum for the honour and ſafety of the nation.

SHOULD not the continual advices from America of the increaſe of the French power by ſuccours from Europe, and of the deſertion of the Indians from us to their intereſt, increaſe, and accelerate, our ſupplies of men, ſhips, and

money? ſhould not the waſte, the interruption of trade, the captivity and maſſacres of our fellow-ſubjects in Virginia, Penſilvania, Carolina, and on the back of all our ſettlements on that continent, move compaſſion in our governors, and determine the m——y intruſted with our money, to do all in our power to chaſtiſe thoſe perfidious and barbarous enemies, and to put it out of their power ever more to diſturb the peace and trade of our plantations? but what has been done towards this neceſſary work? the French have been permitted to ſail with a ſtrong ſquadron of men of war and four thouſand land men from Europe to Canada, and to take the field, before we could be brought to ſpare two thouſand men to follow them. No wonder then ſhould we hear our American brethren complain of the m———y, and expreſs their fears of being devoted to the perfidy and policy of the French, and to the rage and inhumanity of the Heathens. Had the Britiſh navy been properly ſtationed, it would not have been in the power of France, to carry their American ſchemes into execution.

THE misfortune of our brethren in the Weſt-Indies, whoſe trade is expoſed to the naval power of France might have been obviated, had not thoſe ſeas been left defenceleſs, which never before were deſtitute of a number of men of war ſufficient to protect the iſlands and their trade. The loſs of the Warwick is an example of our weakneſs in thoſe eſſential parts of our commerce;

commerce; and the neglect of thoſe ſeas is an invitation for the enemy to attempt the conqueſt of the iſlands alſo. Would not ſome of thoſe ſhips, which were laid up for ſo many months in our ports, and in full pay, have been much better employed in the American ſeas?

WHAT will poſterity think of the late tranſactions in the Mediterranean? it can ſcarce be thought that the armament ſo long preparing at Toulon againſt Minorca, was either ſo inſignificant, or ſecret, but that the Britiſh m———y muſt have had information thereof; or that they were the only people not ſenſible of the want of a powerful navy to maintain the ſovereignty of thoſe ſeas, and to cover the fortreſſes of Mahon and Gibraltar from inſults, and to protect our navigation from the depredations of the French. And the miſcarriage of their firſt ſuccours to relieve the brave garriſon under Blakeney, however diſguiſed by an artful junto under the name of B—g's cowardice only, does by length of time and incidental circumſtances, create ſhrewd ſuſpicions of a defect, either in the heart or head of thoſe, who had it in their power to have acted upon better principles. Durſt B—g, if he had been ordered to make the beſt of his way to Gibraltar, have loitered away his time on the coaſt of Portugal and Spain? was it ever known, that a commander in chief, under expreſs orders for him to execute peremptorily, did riſque his commiſſion and neck, by rejecting thoſe orders; except he

was

of artillery in a country free from the terrors of the ſword; what can be thought of thoſe delays and narrow ſupplies, with which it has been ſince pretended to relieve Minorca?

Nor is this like to be the end of our fears. What is the intention of the naval armaments in Denmark and Sweden? has not the former fitted out ten ſhips of war, and the latter eight, to act as ſubſidiaries in the ſervice of France? has not the g—rn-m--t received advice, that three regiments have embarked at Dunkirk, and ſailed northward? can their deſtination be doubted by any one, that has the leaſt knowledge of things? I would admoniſh our m---y ſeriouſly to conſider, whether (conſiſtent with the leaſt degree of policy) thoſe forces can have any other deſtination, than ordered on board thoſe eighteen ſubſidiary ſhips of war; which from that moment enter into pay, and are obliged to execute any plan, that ſhall be propoſed by order of the French King. I ſhould not therefore be ſurprized at laſt to ſee our fleet of obſervation off Breſt, attacked or drawn off by this, while thoſe ſhips in the harbour ſlip their cables, and put Boſcawen between two fires. What might be the event of ſuch a policy is too obvious to want any explanation. The Breſt fleet, with the addition of another of equal ſtrength, would aſſume the ſovereignty of the ocean; the flower of the Britiſh fleet might be deſtroyed: and the French would have it in their power either to detach a ſufficient force to compleat

compleat their ſchemes of reducing Minorca and Gibraltar, or to pour what forces they pleaſed into Great-Britain or Ireland. Yet, though the preſent intelligence from abroad corroborate theſe ſuſpicions, and the diſregard of ſuch a meaſure to beat us out of the ſeas would be of the moſt fatal conſequence to the nation; it does not appear that the m———y give themſelves any concern about it: the French ſubſidiaries are preparing to ſail by the coaſt of Britain, without interruption; and Boſcawen, unleſs ſtrongly and immediately augmented, may ſoon find himſelf in a more precarious ſituation than the brave and almoſt abandoned governor of Fort St. Philip. Z.

What rage, O citizens! what fury?
Doth you to theſe dire actions hurry?
What towns, what garriſons might you
With hazard of this blood ſubdue,
Which now y'are bent to throw away,
In vain, untriumphable fray?

Hud.

Mr. FREEHOLDER.

SIR,

IS it not very extraordinary that you ſhould take upon you to impeach the wiſdom and œconomy of the miniſtry in their application of the public money, which is raiſed with ſo much difficulty and diſtreſs; when I, and at leaſt three

three hundred thouſand more idle ſpectators, can vouch for a good round ſum, laid out on the train, which paſſed from the Tower of London over the Bridge on Monday laſt, in their way to the inland village of Cobham in Surry? an expedition that will eat up three or four ſuch ſums as the plate and dice acts can produce! has not this ſecret expedition been longer in agitation than the ſuccours for Mahon have taken up? and dare you then inſinuate, that it can be of no conſequence? it is true, there is no fear of an enemy from that quarter, except the Britiſh lion conceives a jealouſy of foreign forces; and there is no Blakeney to relieve: but it is certain the Duke of ——— waits their approach with great impatience. And, who knows but he may, in the new way of fighting, ſignalize himſelf as much in Surry, as he has done by the New Intereſt in Oxfordſhire? the freeholders of that county eſpecially, are ſo greatly obliged to his Grace, that it would ſhew a meanneſs of ſpirit indeed, ſhould they murmur at a miniſtry, which, at a time they want every penny of the money raiſed by parliament, and are diſtreſſed for ways and means for further ſupplies, to repel the common enemy, laviſhly throw away their thouſands, or it may be hundreds of thouſand pounds, to gratify a childiſh inclination to appear in the character of an hero, in a field where there is no enemy, nor any ſervice to be done for his country. Perhaps you will reply; how much is this below

the idea of the actions at Blenheim and Ramillies!

HOWEVER, you muſt allow me to enjoy my own reflexions. It was not poſſible to view this proceſſion, which covered the road for ſeveral miles, without obſerving, that it had its advantages. It cauſes money to circulate; tho' it may be objected, that putting Timothy's money into Titus's pocket, without applying it to the real purpoſes for which that money was raiſed, is ſo far from a due circulation, that it locks it up in a private coffer; and in its proportion diſables Timothy from contributing to the public ſtock. I was told that two inn-keepers in the Borough of Southwark were in a fair way of making fortunes equal to ſome of our ancient opulent families, by their contract for horſes, &c. which have been kept at the public expence almoſt five months already for this Cobham-expedition: and won't you grant, it will at leaſt be as much credit to the nation to have ſenators and lords raiſed from the horſe's heels, as it was in the days of anarchy, to call Colonel Pride a drayman up to the helm of ſtate? and it gives me no ſmall pleaſure, to hear how much my lady Dutcheſs and her companions were pleaſed with the martial apparatus of this pacific warfare, who took up their quarters on this occaſion at my friend *Parry*'s on Putney-Common. Nobody ſhould grudge honeſt Roger this little advantage of a mock campaign, becauſe I am confident he would generouſly part with

with his laſt penny in the cauſe of liberty, and for the honour of the crown.

But there was one thing which was predominant in all my thoughts: it was the appearance of an immenſe crowd of ſpectators, that lined the ſtreets and roads. Could London, early on a Monday morning, ſpare from the neceſſary buſineſs and callings in that metropolis, ſo many thouſands, and Britain be deſtitute of ſtrength to repel a foreign enemy? could a raree-ſhew draw them from their occupations, and it be ſuppoſed they would remain paſſive, or fly before the invaders of their liberty and property? on the contrary, it was with the utmoſt pleaſure, that I obſerved all ſexes, as well as degrees, wiſhing for an opportunity to give real proofs of their loyalty and courage, and that they might live to ſee the money they paid in taxes effectually applied, not in pageantry and mock expeditions, but in the defence of our colonies and ſettlements abroad; in our commerce and dominion by ſea; and in a well-regulated and diſciplined militia at home. And ſince we can have no advices from the governor and garriſon at Minorca, I beg leave, Mr. Freeholder, to ſend you a few from places, which ſeem by our preſent armaments to be conſidered of greater importance.

Cobham, July 12.] The governor and garriſon of this place are in the higheſt ſpirits on having received advice, that a large detachment of

of matroſſes, engineers, &c. with the largeſt train of artillery which ever was fitted out of the Tower of London, were yeſterday morning in full march for this place.

Cobham, July 14.] This morning advice was received, that the forces marching to the relief of this place, were ordered to encamp on Clapham-Common; this news has greatly ſurprized us, eſpecially as the ten large tin boats, called pontoons, muſt have been of the utmoſt advantage in gaining the paſſage of our ſmall river.

Chatham, July 16.] The late report of a ſecond attempt upon the ſhips in the Medway, makes no impreſſion upon the ſpirits of our governor and garriſon, as all our fortifications are now finiſhed, five thouſand men encamped on the glacis; and what is ſtill more than all, 'tis currently reported, that the valiant and magnanimous Hanoverians will be encamped within a day's march.

Wincheſter, July 14.] The governor and garriſon here apprehend themſelves in a ſtate of ſecurity, as 'tis reported that the brave and valorous Heſſians will ſhortly be encamped near this place.

Cobham, July 16.] The governor and garriſon here are in the higheſt ſpirits, having received advice, that laſt night the train of artillery, encamped on Clapham-Common, has poſitive orders (under wrote, *not to be countermanded*) to march, as this morning, to our aſſiſtance; but

as we are under ſome apprehenſions, that they may have got a *Gallic running fire* amongſt them, by lying ſo long near the metropolis, it is reſolved not to admit them into the *ſecrets* of our fortifications, before they have given ſufficient proof of their ſanity and fidelity in the defence of our *outworks*.

No. 51. SATURDAY, *July* 24, 1756.

To the MONITOR.

Take away the Wicked from *before the King, and his Throne ſhall be eſtabliſhed in Righteouſneſs.* PROV. XXV. 5.

SIR,

EVENTS are commonly the beſt interpreters of mens actions: and, though perhaps there never was a time, when public intelligence was more artfully ſuppreſſed and diſguiſed, truth will at laſt prevail.

WE have had two remarkable treaties at Aix la Chapelle, one in 1668, concluded by King Charles II, the other in 1748, by King George II. and both of them, had they been immoveably obſerved, and with reaſonable vigour, might have ſaved the ſpending millions of treaſure and oceans of blood. But it is certain, from

from the events, that King Charles entered into that treaty only to amuſe the public, and to appeaſe in ſome meaſure the diſcontents of the people, occaſioned by the miſmanagement of the war; and by his own conduct in truſting to a miniſtry, that were either inſufficient for the ſervice, or determined to ſacrifice their country to private intereſt.

THE King had given himſelf up to the Duke of Buckingham, who had no religion, gloried in his debaucheries, and was reſolved to maintain his poſt of prime miniſter, by ſoothing all his maſter's paſſions, which, it was happy for the nation, were generally ſatisfied with ſupplies for his vices at home. But a miniſter of that character would not have ſcrupled to run into the moſt expenſive, hazardous, and ruinous meaſures; he would even have contracted immenſe debts to pay ſubſidiary armies, had his ſovereign's affections been fixed on ſome barren principality, ſituate in the vaſt wilds of Germany; or to import a number of foreign troops to cut the throats of his ſubjects, ſhould they have dared to complain at the payment of three fourths of their property in taxes, rather than hazard his intereſt at the helm.

PLEASURES and debauches were the ſole entertainment at court, and vice appeared there bare-faced. But it was not yet degenerated to the unnatural crime, *leaving the natural uſe of the woman, men with men working that which is unſeemly.* And it ought to be con-

ſeſſed, in juſtice to that vicious and irreligious court, that neither the treaſury nor the admiralty, nor even the palace, nor the privilege of parliament would have been able to ſkreen ſuch a criminal from the law. It was no credit to the navy, nor to the adminiſtration under King Charles, that whores and baſtards could make the beſt intereſt for a commiſſion: but it kept itſelf untouched from the deteſtable ſin that provoked heaven to puniſh the delinquents on earth, with fire and brimſtone.

His Majeſty was prodigal to exceſs. But his prodigality was to his miſtreſſes and favourites, who ſpent it all at home. Yet it was a matter of great complaint in thoſe days, that he and his miniſter, the Duke, bilked the parliament out of three hundred and ten thouſand pounds, raiſed for the fleet upon the ſigning of the treaty of Aix la Chapelle: but what would they have done, had they lived in thoſe days when ſix million three hundred thouſand pounds were raiſed for the carrying on the war in 1748, finiſhed by the laſt treaty at Aix, ſhould it be true, that this extraordinary ſum was huſtled up without any account of its application to the ſervice of the nation?

Such meaſures can never be warranted for the good of the public; nor can it be ſuppoſed that they, who had moſt credit and acceſs to the King, were the beſt friends to their country. On the contrary, as the evil counſellors could inſure their own power only upon the

independance of the prince, they at laſt reſolved to try if they could not make him abſolute, whom they had already got into their power and management. But the parliament was not yet ſo corrupt as to give the miniſtry any hopes of ſucceeding with the lords and commons, either by places or penſions, to enſlave their conſtituents. Therefore, the King uneaſy to be continually forced to deviſe freſh pretences of demanding money of his parliament, and wiſhing to be delivered from that trouble, and to have free liberty to take what he wanted without aſking, was eaſily perſuaded to accept a powerful aid from France, in caſe they ſhould meet with an oppoſition at home, and to gain the Preſbyterians by an act of toleration.

HAD Charles's corrupt miniſtry been verſed in modern politics, theſe meaſures might have been refined, and inſtead of ſtaining the honour of the crown by accepting a penſion from France, to enable them to rule without a parliament; or to riſque the peace of the nation, by tolerating non-conformiſts, they might have engaged the French, under certain advantages, to diſguiſe their real intention for keeping up a powerful army at home, and importing a numerous army from abroad, by threatening an invaſion; and by a private benefaction to the Preſbytery, of about ſix thouſand pounds *per annum*, properly applied, might have ſtopt the mouth of the cuſhion-thumpers; while the reſt of the nation were terrified into a ſubmiſ-

ſion to the moſt ruinous ſchemes againſt their liberties, enforced by barracks, camps, and a ſtanding military power.

HOWEVER, it was not thought ſafe or convenient to truſt this iniquitous ſcheme with the whole council, which, when compoſed of perſons ſelected from among the ancient nobility, and men of the greateſt property as well as ability in the nation, cannot be ſuſpected ſo venal as to engage in ſuch a diſhonourable and ruinous project. When the treaſure and blood of the nation are left to the management and diſpoſal of the ſons of fortune, there can be little hopes of ſavings and ſucceſs. It is ſeldom found that the council of thoſe, who creep into a miniſtry with views to make a fortune, ever gets the better of their private intereſt. *The public weal is* obliged to give way to their family connections, and it is of greater concern to ſuch adventurers in the ſtate to keep in power and places of profit, than to oppoſe the encroachments upon our liberties, or to repel an enemy.

THE inſtruments choſen to enſlave the nation were five men of the moſt abandoned principles, called the CABAL; who for a preſent of one hundred thouſand piſtoles entered into all the meaſures of France, and broke the treaty of Aix. But their firſt work was under ſpecious pretences to worm the parliament out of a large ſum to arm the nation againſt all events, at a time, as they ſaid, the Dutch and the French were augmenting their fleets, and England

land was obliged by treaties to aſſiſt their allies in caſe of an invaſion. And in order to carry their point in the houſe, "Scarce a member, "however inconſiderable, was without a pen- "ſion from the King, according to his credit "in the houſe, and theſe penſions were in- "creaſed in proportion to the ſums granted to "his Majeſty."

THIS gained; the parliament was prorogued for a year and nine months, at the very time it was reſolved to break with the Dutch in favour of France: a fatal expedient! though too frequently practiſed by a miniſtry that dread to be called to an account by the people: and ſoon after, all that wiſhed well to their country, were diſmiſſed from their offices or places of truſt and profit. By which means the CABAL getting poſſeſſion of the chancery, the exchequer, the treaſury, and all the great offices of the ſtate, they promoted none but ſuch as were devoted to their intereſt; and even adviſed the King, upon ſummoning the next ſeſſion of parliament, to order the Lord-Chancellor to ſend out writs for the electing of members in the room of ſuch as were dead; they having not yet deviſed the more artful method of removing thoſe they diſliked, by a committee of elections. But how did the mighty fall! how were the crafty taken in their own devices! as ſoon as the parliament met, they expelled theſe new irregular members; and the natural affection, which Britons have always ſhewn in time of

their country's danger, diſcovered itſelf in defence of their liberty and property.

ALL party diſputes ſubſided at the view of common danger. The very penſioners, and moſt zealous advocates for the King and his government, no ſooner diſcovered that their actions did not correſpond with their words, and that they muſt at laſt be involved in the ruin of their country, ſhould the CABAL be permitted without controul to ſap the conſtitution; but they addreſſed his Majeſty to remove all cauſe of jealouſy, which had been given to his faithful ſubjects by his evil councils. And the King was too well inſtructed, by the misfortunes of his father, to riſque his crown by defending the meaſures of miniſters and courtiers, who however devoted to his ſervice in time of proſperity, (when by craft or influence they could deceive or corrupt the people,) might deſert him, to ſecure better terms with his adverſaries.

BUT in this criſis there are two things worthy of obſervation: the wiſdom of his Majeſty got the aſcendant of his paſſions; he was in love with abſolute power; and his miniſtry promiſed to make him abſolute by a ſtanding army at home, and by a foreign aid: but the hazard of ſuch an attempt deterred him from trying the expedient. And however wicked the CABAL were in their councils againſt their country, and diſguſted with the King for rejecting their ſcheme, they were neither ſo ungrateful, nor ſo diſreſpectful, as by way of triumph

umph to employ a Jew to threaten his Majeſty, that he ſhould have no money, unleſs he would yield himſelf up to the will of his CABAL.

FROM this time the members of the CABAL were defeated in all their projects: they held no longer together among themſelves: and the Chancellor dreading the reſentment of the parliament, ſhould they enquire into the iniquity of their private intrigues, endeavoured, with all the ſubtlety of a lawyer, to reconcile himſelf to the nation, by throwing up the ſeals, and declaring for the freedom of parliaments, the liberty of the people, and againſt the late meaſures carried on with France. He even appeared at the head of the anti-courtiers, and ſpoke ſo warmly and effectually againſt the Lord-treaſurer's project for eſtabliſhing a fund —— (I had like to have ſaid a ſinking fund) to free the King from his dependance on the parliament, that, it is ſaid, the Duke of York, while Shaftſbury was ſpeaking, whiſpered the King; "*What* "*a rogue have you of a Lord-Chancellor!*"

BE this as it may; it is certain, that this diſagreement of the CABAL verified the old proverb, *When rogues fall out, honeſt men come by their own.* The repreſentatives of the people were fully convinced of the danger to which the liberties of the nation had been expoſed; and of the neceſſity there was to unite againſt the artifices of the miniſtry, to prevent deſpotiſm, or the degeneracy of a monarchical mixed government into the hands of a CABAL: and

and they proceeded ſo far as to diſqualify the King's brother from holding the poſt of Lord High Admiral, voted a ſtanding army to be a grievance and burden to the nation: voted the colluſive meaſures carried on by the miniſtry with France to be a grievance: voted the evil counſellors about the King to be a grievance; and in particular, voted the Duke of Lauderdale to be a grievance, and not to be fit to be truſted or employed in any office of truſt.

P.

The TIMELY ADVICE.

SPEAK out, ſpeak loud, for now's the time or never.
Too long you've ſilent ſeen your fate creep-on—
By ſpeaking *now* things 'chance may be retriev'd:
At leaſt a ſtop to ruin may be put.
A ſhort while hence may be no time to ſpeak,
When France has ſlipt her wooden ſhoe upon you.
Another loſs like this will blaſt all hope:
A loſs replete with miſchief, ſhame and woe!
But ſure the evil can't be ſhun'd, unleſs
You inſtantly get *m*n*, and *meaſures*, chang'd.
Men ſeemingly determin'd to deſtroy you,
And give up all, by piece-meal, to the Foe,
(What ſurer proof than this you have before you?)
Rather than part with power; quite reſolv'd
That if *they* fall, the *nation* ſhall fall with them.

A

A curſed ſcheme from year to year purſu'd,
Tho' *others* hid, what *theſe* don't fear to ſhew.
Then raiſe your voice, till liberty awake,
Nor ceaſe to cry aloud, till juſtice hear;
And bring all daring Traitors to the block:
That you and they mayn't periſh both together.

ZZ.

ADVISEMENT.

WHEREAS the warehouſe of Mr. John Bull, merchant, ſituated between the *Straights of Gibraltar*, and the *Gulf of Lyons*, has been lately robbed of a very large quantity of naval ſtores and other effects, by a parcel of baboons, owing, as he apprehends, to the treachery or neglect of either TOM, JACK, GEORGE, PHILIP, HARRY, or ſome other of his ſervants:

WHOEVER can give any certain intelligence of the ſervant who left the warehouſe door open, and will apply to the COCK in the PITT near Whitehall, or to *John Ketch'em*, Eſq; at the ſign of the AX and BLOCK near Great-Tower-Hill, ſhall be rewarded with a piece of the beſt ſuperfine Broad Cloth, an article, poor Mr. Bull fears he ſhall not much longer be permitted to deal in.

No. 52. SATURDAY, *July* 31, 1756.

Cry aloud, ſpare not, lift up thy voice like a trumpet, and ſhew my people their tranſgreſſion, and the houſe of Jacob their ſins.

ISA. lviii. 1.

To the MONITOR.

SIR,

IN the midſt of the general mourning of theſe kingdoms for the loſſes already felt, and for what muſt infallibly follow, unleſs timely prevented by an alteration of meaſures, I am amazed to find no ſorrow, no uneaſineſs, no repinings, no fore-bodeings, no earnings for the public ſafety, amongſt thoſe, who recommend, appoint, and direct the officers and operations, by whoſe miſconduct and puſillanimity, I hope not treachery, Minorca, the ſecurity of our Levant trade, is loſt to our rival in commerce: and our moſt valuable poſſeſſions in America, without which neither our fleets could be mann'd, nor our manufactures can be employed, have ſeverely groaned under the enemy's ſword; and, if not promiſed to be yielded up, are in a manner abandoned, and almoſt ruined by the dilatory meaſures of thoſe, who are entruſted with the means raiſed in theſe dominions for their protec-

protection. And I even dread the effects of that indifference with which the advices of our late misfortunes have been treated by ſome of the m———y.

WHERE's their judgment and wiſdom, if they were ignorant of the uſefulneſs and neceſſity of a Britiſh ſettlement in the Mediterranean, to protect our merchantmen, to annoy our enemies, to give weight to our councils, and to maintain an intereſt with the princes of Italy and the Ottoman Empire? or where's their honeſty, if Mahon has been ſacrificed to any private intereſt, or in conſequence of a private article of ſome treaty not yet made known?

HAD the m———y been ignorant of the enemy's intention, ſome allowance might have been made for deception: but the French, contrary to their accuſtomed ſecrecy, proclaimed their reſolution to invade Minorca, ſome months before any proviſion was pretended to be made to reſiſt them. Had the m——y been cramp'd for money for ſuch a ſervice, it could not have been expected from them: but the parliament had ſupplied the Exchequer with a ſum that exceeded the greateſt in any one year, when England beat the enemy out of the ſeas, took Gibraltar and Minorca, and threatened to carry their arms to the walls of Paris. Had the parliament plann'd their operations, or interfered in the ſtationing of the fleets, marching their forces, and granting commiſſions; who could have blamed the m—y for ſending ſo late, and

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ſuch a weak ſquadron and reinforcement to Mahon, under the command of men, who had never given proofs of their conduct and courage, in preference to officers of experience, courage, and fidelity? who could have blamed them for keeping forty thouſand ſeamen in pay, cooped up in our harbours at home, to give the officers an opportunity to diſplay their effeminate capacities in balls and maſquerades? or for conſuming the treaſure of the nation in the importation of foreign forces from Heſſe and Hanover; in an extraordinary augmentation of our national troops; in the extravagant parade of encampments, and trains of artillery? or in the new method of ſettling exorbitant penſions on their fellow-labourers in the works, which make a national and ſpeedy enquiry, into the cauſes of our preſent diſgrace and miſery, abſolutely neceſſary, to prevent a total annihilation of the Britiſh name?

BUT ſhould it turn out, upon the moſt impartial examination into their conduct, that the great officers of ſtate are the only men who have been intruſted with all our money, and inveſted with all the power to defend our King and his Britiſh dominions, wherever ſituate: that they have not made uſe of thoſe means put into their hands by the nation, to anſwer the neceſſary purpoſes for which they were given; but have permitted the enemy to ſurprize our territories, our property, and our ſtrong holds for want of relief, or a ſufficient ſtrength by ſea or land;

land; and that they have trifled away both their time and our money, when they met in conſultation,

Not for the ſickly patient's ſake;
Nor what to give, but what to take.

IF it ſhould appear, that inſtead of uniting in the firſt principle of Britiſh government, which is to ſecure the liberty and property of the nation, they agree only to keep in power by ſacrificing every thing to their ambition and avarice: that they have endeavoured to lay a reſtraint upon the King, by ſowing jealouſies and miſrepreſentations in the royal mind, in order to deprive him of the council of his moſt faithful nobles and gentry, and to compel him to acquieſce in and authorize the moſt unconſtitutional meaſures: and that they, under fictitious reports of an invaſion, have not only abandoned our colonies and fortreſſes to deſtruction, but have formed a deſign to render their m——y abſolute, and to change the government into an oligarchy by the aid of a powerful ſtanding army of natives, Heſſians and Hanoverians; it would become every true Briton to take ſuch meaſures, as the conſtitution of the nation might enable him, in his proper ſtation, to prevent the fatal conſequences of their corruptions and aſpirings, and to bring them to a true ſenſe of their crimes.

Is Minorca torn from the Britiſh crown by a nation that dares not meet us on the ocean, and in ſight of a Britiſh ſquadron, either not provided, or not inſtructed, to maintain the dominion of the ſeas: and ſhall they, to whoſe management this ſervice properly belonged, eſcape their deſerts? we have laught off, and almoſt forgotten the dire cataſtrophe of the Baſtimentos, Mediterranean, and of Carthagena, under Hoſier, Mathews and Vernon: but ſhall we forget Mahon as ſoon; if WE do, *other nations* will not. We ſhall ever be, what we now are, the reproach and contempt of every nation in Europe, unleſs we bring the authors and perpetrators of this treachery, cowardice or puſillanimity to juſtice. To be ſilent and tamely permit the Britiſh lion to be chained by his keepers, while the leopard is pulling him limb from limb, is as little becoming the ſons of liberty and honour, as to ſubmit to arbitrary power.

If we caſt our eyes towards America, can we diſcern any better proſpect of m——l conduct? was not the importance of thoſe valuable colonies, made the immediate argument to engage our repreſentatives to grant eight millions of money this laſt ſeſſion, to protect them, and ſupport our rights to the poſſeſſions and trade of North America? and ſhall they, who were intruſted with that immenſe ſum for thoſe particular purpoſes, not be called to an account for leaving them expoſed to the enemy? not to eſpouſe their cauſe and revenge their ſufferings

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would have been ſuch a reflection upon our glory, as time could ne'er efface; and perhaps the neglect of a vigorous and timely exertion of the power committed to the m——y for that ſervice, may be ſo heavy a blow upon our naval and mercantile intereſt, as millions may not be able to repair.

How have death and deſtruction; unexampled barbarities and horrid devaſtations ſtagnated trade, penetrated into ſome of our fineſt plantations, and are ready to cut them off from the intereſt of their mother country? while that money has been applied to hire an army of Ruſſians, another of Heſſians, a third of Hanoverians, and another of Wolfenbuttleans: to pay a large ſubſidy to keep the King of Pruſſia in temper, for fear his maritime forces, when joined to the enemies, ſhould prove too powerful for us, and to pay a ſtanding army in Britain: to maintain an inactive fleet; and ſhamefully to increaſe the number of penſioners to the ſtate. And was it ever known that a nation thus deceived; thus miſguided and brought to the briſk of ruin; whoſe liberty was endangered; whoſe debts were more than ſhe was able to pay; whoſe monarch was controuled by his ſervants, and whoſe ſubjects were driven before the ſword of the enemy to periſh in woods and deſerts, or diſmayed at the horrid ſpectacle of their children ſlain and ſcalped, and themſelves at laſt expiring in the flames of their

own houſes; could remain inſenſible of its grievances, or afraid to complain and purſue the author of its misfortunes: or can Britons at the time France is lighting up her forges of death, and collecting together ſuch a quantity of materials and engines, as if ſhe intended to make an univerſal ſacrifice of mankind, remain inactive ſpectators, and improvident ſtewards of the public money?

If upon examination it ſhould be diſcovered, that there are any at the helm ſo loſt to the love of their country, as to create a ſuſpicion of their acting in concert with her enemies; or ſo eſtranged to glory as to be the infamous inſtruments of executing any private meaſures and ſtipulations to the diſgrace and hurt of the nation, cry aloud and ſpare not!

Can a people, who boaſt of freedom, and their right to enquire into the actions of their governors, calmly paſs over and ſubmit to the iniquitous impoſition of a m——y, ſhould their meaſures threaten them with ſlavery? or ſhall they, who, deſcended from a race of heroes and ſoldiers, have in defence of themſelves, and of their friends ſhed their blood, and bore away the palm of victory in every kingdom of the known world, and made the moſt powerful enemy tremble at that arm, which liberty had ſtrengthened, be afraid to appear in their country's cauſe? or be ſuppoſed unable to bring corruption and treachery, however diſguiſed and guarded

guarded with foreign troops, to light and puniſhment? and, if we do not lay hold of the preſent time to exert that liberty, which is our birth-right, let not poſterity wonder to ſee this monarchy once more uſurped by a council of ſtate, and the freeborn ſubjects reduced to the ſtate of Turkiſh or Gallic ſlaves.

IT is not a mere jealouſy, but the evident miſ-rule of our m——y which alarms the nation. It is not diſaffection, but the love of our conſtitution, King, and country, that prompts us to appear in oppoſition to bad meaſures, and to ſeek after thoſe bad men, who have not applied our money nor our forces for the glory of the crown, and protection of our countries and commerce. And the method of ſeeking redreſs under theſe circumſtances, and to convince his Majeſty of your loyalty and reſolution to remove away the wicked from his councils, and to revenge the indignities and loſſes he has, and may otherwiſe ſuſtain, during this prorogation of parliament (which perhaps might be a ſcheme of the delinquents to prevent our immediate petitioning that auguſt aſſembly againſt their proceedings) is to recommend it earneſtly to the GRAND JURIES at the approaching aſſizes in every part of the nation, to conſider the importance of enquiring into the grievances and miſcarriages with which our very being, as a nation is threaten'd. Let every corporation, borough, and county lay aſide all party animoſity, and

unite for the common ſafety in their addreſſes to the throne, and their inſtructions to their repreſentatives in parliament, to inform his Majeſty of the impending danger brought upon theſe dominions by thoſe, who have run us into a debt, whoſe intereſt alone muſt keep us for ever loaded with taxes grievous to be borne: who have by their puſillanimity and miſconduct expoſed us to the moſt powerful of all our enemies, without ſecuring a ſingle ally of any conſequence in our preſent circumſtances, and not one without hire: who have expoſed Great Britain to the contempt of our neigbours, by rejecting a bill for a general militia; which would at once have releaſed us from the unneceſſary expence and hazardous practice of importing foreign troops, and deterred our enemies from all thoughts of braving us with invaſions: who have tamely given up Minorca, and who ſlept upon their arms, while the French are tearing from us our valuable dominions in America. A union of parties is the ſtrength of the whole. An harmonious ſpirit is the one thing needful, and will ſave both the throne and the nation from diſgrace and ſlavery. Diviſion is weakneſs, and the grand machine by which all tyrants and bad miniſters have carried their arbitrary projects into execution. It is high time to awake from our political lethargy, and to diſtinguiſh our ſincere friends and real intereſt: to

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revere the men, who are the advocates for liberty, and to oppoſe licentiouſneſs: who would reward heroes and puniſh every gilded ſlave and titled coward.

THESE are the words of Britons, who eſpouſe no party but that of their country; and would engage in no quarrel, where the Britiſh honour and intereſt are not concerned. O.

MAHON is gone, and with it gone our TRADE!
Next farewel *Liberty*, celeſtial Maid!
But whence this ſudden Gloom; this deep Diſtreſs?
Whence this reverſe of BRITON's Happineſs?
Ah! that's the Queſtion; and 'twere ſome Relief,
Cou'd we but reach the Authors of our grief.
Wou'd Lords and Commons give to Juſtice Hand
The baſe Betrayers of this ſinking Land:
If not from *Naval Chiefs* our Miſery's come,
We've ſurely Traitors near the Helm at Home.

ANCHOR and HOPE near *Charing-Croſs*, July 26.

YEſterday an ANTELOPE arrived here, and demanded the rewards ſome time ſince offered in the MONITOR to any one, who could

give any ſatisfactory intelligence concerning the Two ADMIRABLES; but he found the SEA LYON's *Brains* ſo tainted, the *Soul* of NEWCASTLE SALMON ſo corrupted, and the FOX's *Bruſh* ſo offenſively piſſed upon, that he refuſed to carry them away, unleſs the LANDLORD would ſuffer 'em to be *hung up* to ſweeten in the open air.

FINIS.

JUN 2 1 1946